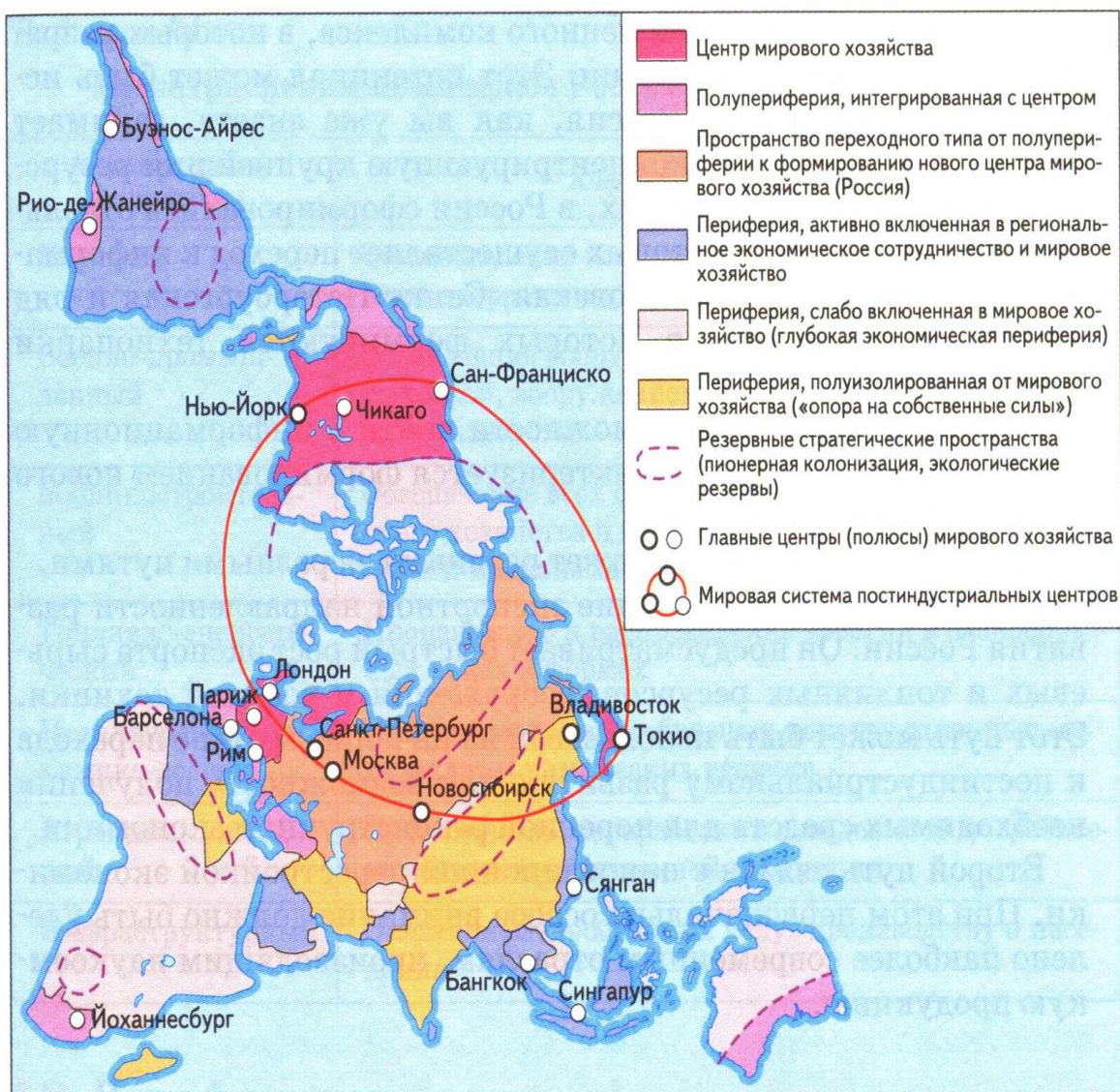


Nation Building in Russia

A study into secondary school geography education as tool for nation building of the youth in Russia



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Nation Building in Russia: A study into Secondary School Geography education as tool for nation building of the youth in Russia

Cover illustration: Map of Russia in the world economic system, source: Dronov & Rom (2012), p. 55

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Summary

Russia, the largest country on earth, is a country of contradictions. It is at the same time old and young, since the state officially exists only from 1991, but people feel themselves connected with a long historical Russian imperial heritage going at least 1000 years back. In this study, nationalism and nation-building in Russian secondary school geography education is researched.

From the literature on nationalism it is known that the education system is key in spreading nation-building messages among young people and incorporating them in this way into the state structure, at the same time, countries with higher education

Different types of nationalism are taken into account in this study, in order to see which ones fit best with the dominant national narrative in the Russian Federation. Russian nationalism is rather inclusive as compared to many other Central and Eastern European countries, and the state itself, as well as the Orthodox church is key in understanding the Russian national feelings. An important role in the context of Russia has one of the subtypes of nationalism, namely patriotism, the feeling of pride in one's nation.

The Russian ministry of education has issued guidelines for the Russian geography education and states that besides the necessary geographical content, it is important that children develop patriotic feelings for their country. Teachers and textbook authors are stimulated to put attention on this subject. However it seems that most attention for patriotism education is focused on the subject of history and (maybe also) social sciences. History textbooks have been extensively studied, geography and social sciences ones much less.

In the five analysed geography secondary school textbooks in this study, large differences can be found in the amount of openly patriotic thought that is being broadcasted. All textbooks have a highly classical regional geographic approach, focusing on the uniqueness of the region. What becomes clear however in all books, is that there is a lot of attention for the vastness of Russia and its abundant natural resources. It appears as if the descriptions of the natural resources and their importance are a method in order to spark feelings of patriotism. Patriotism in Russia may be therefore rather different than the perception that foreigners may have, based on other Central and Eastern European countries as well as from generalizations from literature on the subject.

The last part of the study consists of a number of interviews with Russian geography teachers. The opinion of the teachers is at least equally important as what is written in the textbooks, as it is the man or woman in front of the class who is making the real education. The teachers that are interviewed have a low attention for teaching patriotism. They indicate that they teach about the things that they consider to be useful for the students but mainly about geographical content. Several teachers mention to stay as far as possible away from politics. Unfortunately only 5 interviews took place, with teachers that spoke English or German. This means that generalizations cannot really be made with a large degree of certainty, as English speaking teachers may have a certain bias towards international cooperation and are therefore probably less influenced by patriotism.

As conclusion can be said that elements of nation-building in geography textbooks can certainly be found in all textbooks, but that these are more aimed at the natural environment and its resources than on internationally more common cultural themes of patriotism, namely symbols of a shared culture and history.

Introduction

1.1 Background

*Russia is a thing of which
the intellect cannot conceive.
Hers is no common yardstick.
You measure her uniquely:
in Russia you believe!*
Fyodor Tyutchev, 1866

This study is about secondary school education in Russia, more specifically about the role and place of nation building in the education process among school children in early adolescent age. Russia is in this context a very interesting and specific case in Europe and the World: It is both a young and an old country. The modern Russian Federation came into being after the Soviet Union disintegrated in the end of 1991. The national narrative of the new state was to directly link it to the Russian Empire, which was preceding the Soviet Union by many centuries. The Russian Empire as term to indicate this part of the world was officially adopted by Czar Peter I, also known as Peter the Great (in national narratives of all countries so-called “Golden Ages” with rulers with the adjective “the Great” exist, an Russia is no exception to this). The use of the name “Russia”, to indicate this state goes back at least to the first ruler who called himself Czar, Ivan IV, who had the nickname “Grozny”, “the Terrible” (although in the Russian language the word “Grozny” can also be translated as “the Formidable”, a word with a more positive connotation). Further back in the Middle-Ages, there was the realm of the Kievan Rus, which according to the legends was founded by Rurik the Varangian (“the Viking”) and is seen as the origin of Russia as a nation in the national narrative.

However interesting and compelling the previous paragraph may seem as a foundation story for the country, fact is that many different people from many different origins live in the vast territory that makes up the modern day Russian Federation, people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It is something Russians repeatedly stress as one of the key factors of the education system: “*We are a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nation*” (Kozlov, 2011, p. 24). It is therefore a compelling idea to understand how the Russians (as in citizens of the Russian Federation) try to build a feeling of unity among these different ethnic groups. This study is about if and how they use the education system and in particular the subject of geography as an agent of change. In several other countries in Eastern Europe, the transition from communist plan economy to a democratic free market economy led to wars in the 1990s and sometimes until this day frozen conflicts (for example Former Yugoslavia, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), more peaceful breakup of countries (Czechoslovakia) or separatist/irredentist movements (Romania, Ukraine, Moldova). Of course Russia had its share of separatism, like the notorious war in Chechnya or separatist movements in Tatarstan and Bashkortistan, but in general it does appear that Russia managed to find a sort of mode of cooperation between its various ethnic groups. There are of course many reasons for that, but one of them the secondary school education system and the role the subject of geography in it is being analysed here.

In his monumental work “*Imagined Communities*” on nationalism and identity, Benedict Anderson (1983) writes about the important role of education in the formation of a unified national identity. Hobsbawm (1990) describes the same mechanism about education and nation building and observed these mechanisms at work in the Balkans, where the new former Yugoslav Republics completely changed the educational programs, in order to form the youth according to new nationalist ideas, to become citizens of these new independent republics. The focus of these ideas in the Balkan was on ethnicity, the idea of having common (genetic) roots and a common language.

The consequences of this policy are known: a devastating war along ethnic lines in the Balkans. It lead Michael Mann (2005, p. 67), to his central theses about the introduction of democracy: that it leads to a desired homogenization of the people, and therefore ethnic cleansing. In Russia, the transition from Soviet Union to the current state of the Russian Federation seems to have been – at least from the outside – more inclusive for the different ethnic groups that live within its borders (Paul & De Pater, 2010, p. 73), (except for the wars in Chechnia probably). Does it mean that Russia is a sort of exception of Mann’s theory of introducing democracy?

Now, more than 25 years after the formation of the modern Russian Federation out of the Soviet Union, is a good moment for a closer look into the Russian secondary school curriculum and how ideas of nation building have developed and perhaps matured there over these years. Of course these cannot be seen out of context, which is the context of the national narrative of the Russian nation, of which this study also gives an overview, at least about some of the key historical events that were used in shaping it.

1.2 Introduction to nationalism and nation building

Nationalism is the idea of belonging to an, as Anderson (1983) describes, “Imagined community”, a community of people that one doesn’t know personally, but still feels a connection with and being part of. Among the different ways to reinforce this community, several symbols are deliberately applied, ranging from the national flag to participation of sport teams from that specific nation to international sport events (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Historians and geographers are and have been puzzled by several paradoxes related to nationalism, which make the phenomenon hard to understand. To name just a few of these paradoxes: Objectively seen most states are quite young (like the Russian Federation, which appeared only at the end of 1991), but are seen at the same time as antique (perennial) in the eyes of nationalists. This happens both explicitly and implicitly, just to name one implicit example: The Dutch minister of science, culture and education called an archaeological find of a Neanderthal skull as “We found the first Dutchman” (Van Raaij, 2009). Another one of these paradoxes is the formal universality of nationality as a social concept: One needs to have a nationality regardless whether one feels like having one or not. Like gender and race, one is expected to have a nationality, like it or not. A third paradox is about the strong connection of nationalism to political power, yet at the same time it is philosophically poorly defined, with no great thinkers on the subject according to Anderson (1983, p. 5). These paradoxes make nationalism a difficult subject to grasp and to study. Notwithstanding the confusion about the subject, several mechanisms that reinforce nationalism can be identified. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) for example, describe in their book the process of the invention of “traditions”, which are used to further strengthen the process of nation building. For governments wanting to effectively spread these traditions, their best chance is to include them in the education system, so that these may become real feelings among the general population.

Apart from these very general principles, theorizing about nation building and nationalism has been somewhat neglected by the academic world, according to Jaffrelot (2003). Other authors go even so far as to reject a general unified theory of nationalism / nation building since the underlying historical narratives of specific locations is so different (Calhoun, 1997; Greenfield, 1993; Hall, 1993). Instead, Greenfield observes no less than “five different paths to modernity”, that countries in Europe followed to develop themselves into the Industrial Revolution and beyond. She argues that the specific forms of nationalism and nation building found in each of these five types of modernization is so specific and path dependent, that no single unifying theory can be established.

In Eastern Europe, the modern state and the development of Nationalism went quite different from Western Europe, the idea arrived later in Eastern Europe (Dungaciu, 1999; Greenfield, 1993; A. D. Smith, 1986) and with a much stronger focus on ethnicity as defining factor for the formation of the identity (Tilly, 1991). The country in focus in this study, the Russian Federation, is the largest country in the world in terms of land mass and houses over 160 ethnic minorities. Around 77% of the citizens of the Russian state (Russian passport holders) identify themselves as Russian. The 23% other ethnic groups consists of a few large ones and many small and tiny groups (For example, the smallest officially recognized ethnic minority, the Kerek people consist of just 4 people according to the 2010 census). Large ethnic groups besides the Russians within Russia (with more than 1 million people) are from large to small: Tatars, Ukrainians, Bashkir, Chuvash, Chechens and Armenians (Federal State Statistics Service of Russia, 2010). Russia in terms of nationalism seems to be an exception to most other Eastern European countries, since (official) nationalism here is not focused on ethnicity, but instead on state citizenship. Hedrick Smith (1976, p. 371) interviewed many Russians and concluded that have very strong feelings of proudness about their state and its history (more than about the ethnicity), and it was one of the factors that helped them to win the Second World War.



Figure 1.1: Languages spoken in Russia, a proxy for ethnic diversity. Source: d-maps.com

The best place to look for invented traditions and symbols of the nation as unifying force are the school curricula (Arnott & Ozga, 2010). As is written in the previous section already, education is seen as key in transmitting and safekeeping the values that are desired by the state (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). The most likely place to find the highest concentration of these values is the curriculum of history and geography. A third place to investigate is the subject of social sciences, in which also several of these issues are dealt with.

1.3 Relevance of the research

This study will contribute to the knowledge of how the geography curriculum in secondary schools in Russia is intended to be used as one of the forces supporting and spreading nation building issues of

the modern Russian Federation. This study is not just a description and analysis of different ideas brought forward in the geography textbooks, but also includes interviews to learn more about opinions and comments of school teachers.

Although there are several studies on nationalism/patriotism and the secondary school history curriculum in Russia, the Russian geography curriculum and the transmission of values related to nation-building through this curriculum have not been studied extensively (at least not in English). Therefore this study will contribute to the body of knowledge on this subject.

Another reason why this study is relevant is because of the interesting exceptional position of the Russian Federation in Eastern Europe. It is by far the largest country in terms of population and economic and military power of this region, and seems to have been able – at least on the outside – to develop a rather inclusive narrative, in which the different ethnic groups in the country are included in the national story. Russia seems to have been more successful with that than for example a country like Belgium, where the two different large ethnic groups seem to constantly quarrel and seem to feel to have only very little in common. Russia might therefore provide valuable insights in how to build a national story, or “Imagined community”, which is relatively inclusive for ethnic minorities.

1.4 Research questions

The ideas discussed before, lead to a number of research questions for this study. The main question for this study is: *In what way does the Russian government use the Russian education system, especially the subject of geography, as tool for nation building among school children, which characteristics does this nation building have, do teachers affirm the imposed nation building ideas and which developments can be observed?*

To be able to answer the main question, I have formulated three sub-questions:

1. What does the dominant Russian national narrative looks like and which developments can be observed?
2. How does the Russian national narrative translate into the core objectives of the Russian government for the geography curriculum and consequently into the geography textbooks?
3. Which developments in Russian nation building ideas in education can be observed over the last years?
4. What is the opinion / reaction of teachers on the nation building ideas in the geography curriculum?

The research questions lead to a conceptual model of the spread of nationalism by means of the education system, based on the concept of state nationalism (nationalism from above). The detailed explanation of this state nationalism concept and a detailed description of the conceptual model can be found in chapter 3.4.

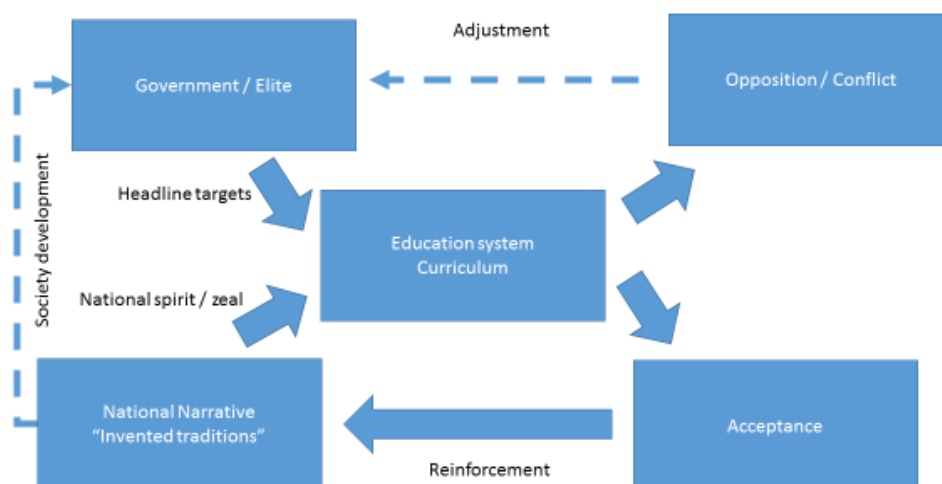


Figure 1.2: Relations between different concepts

In general a number of feedback loops can be observed. Starting from the government and/or elite, who sets a number of guidelines / core objectives for the education system. The nationalist ideas behind these core objectives can in some cases resonate well and lead to general acceptance among both teachers and students, reinforcing the already existing national narrative, or “invented traditions”. These will be then go back into the educational systems with improved enthusiasm, further strengthening the teaching and enthusiasm about them. In other cases intended core objectives do not resonate well with some or most of the people and will be largely rejected. In democratic societies, governments can be rather easily corrected and it will eventually lead to adjustment of the education core objectives of the government. A third feedback loop that can be observed is the one about the development of society, Hobsbawm (1990) observes different stages of nationalism and nation building in society, of which at first after a nation is born, an increase in chauvinism and patriotism can be expected, which is replaced in later stages of the development by a more moderate and open minded nationalism.

1.5 Structure of the report

The report is structured as follows:

Chapter two consists of a description of the research methodology of this study. It consists of a description of the research methods used and deals with the different research questions which are at the base of this research.

Chapter three is a theoretical description of nationalism and nation building. It consists of an overview of the academic debates on the topic as well as a description of the history and possible future of the concept. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the relation between nationalism and education.

Chapter four consists of a description of the history of Russia, at least some of the key points in it that shape the Russian national narrative. The second part of the chapter is about different ethnic groups within the Russian Federation, and contains of a brief description of the largest ones.

Chapter five gives an overview of the Russian education system, its development and the place of geography in the curriculum, followed by an analysis of the five textbooks that have been selected.

Chapter six is an analysis of the interviews done with Russian geography teachers.

Chapter seven shows the conclusions of the research and gives some recommendations for further studies.

2 Research Methodology

2.1 Introduction

To understand if and how the education system is used in Russia for nation building activities, it is important to use a reliable and valid methodology. This chapter consists of a description of the methodology of this study, divided over a number of sections. Already in the first chapter of this study, the main research question and sub questions have been introduced. Most answers to the research questions have to be answered by a combination of desk & field research, by collecting data from Russian educational guidelines, textbooks and interviews with teachers. Part of the first research question is answered by desk research, by analysing the Russian education system and comparing its specifics and effectiveness with other European countries. In this chapter the research design is described in detail in section 2.2, including the operationalization of the different variables used in the conceptual model. Section 2.3 consists of the limitations of this study. The actual results of the empirical data collection are presented in the chapters following this one.

2.2 Research type and design

The type of research that is best suited for these questions is an interpretative qualitative research. The goal of this study is not in the first place to test a given hypotheses for validity, but instead to understand and discover some new insights. Or, at least some input for a subsequent quantitative study, into testing the different issues that surfaced in this study.

Some considerations have to be kept in mind: In terms of ontological considerations, this study views education and nation building as complex, non-static processes. Education is only partly a result of the core objectives that are set by the government, but is also dependent on the teacher and his or her views on several issues. This study will therefore not exclusively focus on either the education core objectives, the textbook contents or the role of the teacher, but instead take all of these factors into consideration. Even though education is for a large part regulated by the government and directed by guidelines and textbooks, it would be a big mistake not to put attention on the man or woman in front of the class. Therefore, in order to explore the way how nation building is actually put forward in class, in-depth semi-structured interviews are most suitable for these type of research, as it gives the interviewee the possibility to explain why and how he or she acts, in a complex situation (such as the process of teaching), something that cannot be achieved by answering pre-formulated survey questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Besides that, in an interview, because of – hopefully – the development of a certain level of trust between the interviewer and interviewee, there will be more relevant answers instead of just politically correct platitudes. The interviews are therefore anonymous, names of the respondents are known by the academic supervisor of this study. Next to the interviews, the core objectives and textbooks will be analysed based on the occurrence of elements from the theory of nationalism, as further elaborated in chapter 3.

The research design used is a case study into the Russian education system. This case study is interesting, because the Russian federation is a young state, but one with at the same time a heritage from its predecessor, the Soviet Union. And as the largest country on the planet in terms of surface, it is not surprisingly that Russia is an ethnically diverse state, with its multi-ethnicity rooted in its constitution. Even though Gellner (1983) came to the conclusion that multi-ethnic empires are not compatible with modern times, it appears – at least from the outside – that the Russians created a strong multi-ethnic state with its own historical narrative. Measuring the effectiveness of nation building activities in general is very complicated, if not impossible. Therefore I decided to focus on the educational system, in particular the secondary education system. As written before, education

is complex and prone to influences from many sides and actors, of which the official guidelines from the ministry of education is just one of many, albeit a strong one: They are obligatory for schools and textbook writers to follow. This study consists of an overview of five different textbooks on issues of patriotism, nationalism and nation building, and furthermore a number of interviews with teachers, in order to triangulate the findings, to come to more depth and understanding of the subject.

At the same time the general limitations of a case study are clear: It focusses on an area and on that area alone. Results and therefore also conclusions found in a case study cannot just be applied to other areas. In other words, a case study like this research is highly place restricted and is called an ideographic approach by Bryman (2012). On the other hand, whenever possible, from this research, attempts to generalize the results found in the case study will be made. This will be done by reflecting on the findings from the fieldwork by trying to link these with existing theories and findings in other areas. Although generalization in social sciences in general is not without controversy for the lack of possibilities to formulate universally applicable laws (Mayring, 2007), it is sometimes still possible to formulate general rules to which exceptions are possible (Winch, 1958), or at least some rules valid within specific contexts only, so-called middle-range theories, as described by Merton (1968). Whereas the study of the Russian education system can certainly contribute towards formulating a middle range theory on the effect of education on nation building of young states, the characteristics of this immense country with its specific and unique history might be hard to translate to different countries.

2.3 Research methods and operationalization of the conceptual model

This section deals with the conceptual model and the different sub research questions, as formulated in chapter 1. All sub research questions are discussed in detail and the type of research per sub research question are indicated, as well as the topics dealt with during the interviews. All interviews were in either the Russian, German or English language. All interviews have been, if necessary, translated into English.

2.3.1 Sub research question 1: The Russian national narrative

What does the dominant Russian national narrative looks like and which developments can be observed?

In order to understand the context of the education system, it is necessary to understand the dominant national narrative of the Russians, in order to understand which time periods and which territory and/or borders are important for them. This also includes the (current) geopolitical situation and ideas.

Vladimir Putin is praised by Russians for the stability he brought in the country, after the turbulent 1990s. He also embarked on a voyage of including more nationalist ideas in the Russian society (see for example the 9 May victory parades, more in chapter 4). This sub research question mainly consists of desk research and gives an overview of the perceived most important points of Russian history and their influence on their Russian national narrative. It is important to understand that the Russian Federation is by its constitution a multi ethnic state, and therefore it is interesting to see how all the different histories of Russia and its ethnic minorities are combined into one national narrative.

Some information about this sub research question is also collected via interviews with teachers. The interview topics related to this sub research questions are:

- Trends and developments they observe in society related to nation building ideas, especially since the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991.

- Do they observe a growing or shrinking possibility to talk about own opinions, even if they might be different from desired points of view from above?

2.3.2 Sub research question 2: The geography curriculum

How does the Russian national narrative translate into the core objectives of the Russian government for the geography curriculum and consequently into the geography textbooks?

In order to effectively use the education system to broadcast a desired message of patriotism, the government needs to control the core objectives for the education in order to be sure the desired nation building messages end up in the textbooks. At the same time, the core objectives for geography education can be used to instruct geography teachers about the way they could and should teach the children.

This sub research question is mainly answered by analysing data from the school book analysis and interviews, but also desk research into the choices of the government about which items to put in the core objectives is required as well as the question who decides on the content of the curriculum.

The main subjects in the interviews with teachers for this sub research question are:

- Do they receive support or training related to teaching nation building activities?
- To what extent and how do they incorporate nation building activities into their teaching?

The dominant narrative of Russian nation building is analysed in two different ways. In the first place, the national directives or core objectives for geography are analysed on the amount of attention that is given for certain time periods, subjects and regions. Besides these general directions of the ministry of education, the five different text books are analysed. Some of the questions related to the analysis of the books are:

- Which historical periods get relatively much attention? This helps to identify the so-called “Golden Age(s)” that every Nation has constructed as “invented tradition”.
- What is the (most common) geographical scale level of analysis? Is it the modern Russian Federation, the former Soviet Union or something else?
- How much and what type of attention is given to minority peoples in Russia? Or are these ethnic issues largely ignored?
- How patriotic are the textbooks?
- Which maps of historical territory are displayed and in which context?

2.3.3 Sub research question 3: Developments in nation building activities in education

Which developments in Russian nation building ideas in education can be observed over the last years?

The last couple of years, a lot has happened in terms of political changes and difficulties between Russia and some of its neighbours. The relation with Ukraine especially has been strained maybe even for the next decades, because of the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and suspected involvement in the civil war in the eastern part of Ukraine from the same year onward.

The newest editions of the government core objectives are compared with the previous (pre-2014) editions to see if there are any major changes and how the different political reality is put into the geography curriculum.

Part of the answer to this sub research question is also collected by interviewing the teachers. In the interviews some of the subjects that are discussed are:

- Their opinion on changes in the education methods and how they perceive the changes

2.3.4 Sub-research question 4: The role of the teacher

What is the opinion and role of teachers on the nation building ideas/activities in the geography curriculum?

- Their identification with the Russian national narrative as it comes to them via the national guidelines and the textbooks
- Favourite geographical subject and historical period of the teacher
- Their opinion about minority peoples and their way of discussing ethnic diversity in class.
- Is teaching patriotism to children an important goal for them personally?
- Their general job satisfaction

2.4 Response and non-response

In total 5 semi-structured interviews in-depth interviews have been carried out for this study, in the time range between 30 minutes and 1 hour, depending on the availability of the respondents.

Seven geography teachers were approached from the personal network of the author in Russia. Two replied to have no interest in participating in an interview, which means that five interviews were held about the topic of nation building. It is important to notice that the number of interviews is small and also there is probably a considerable selection bias as all interviewed teachers were familiar with either the English or German language, so only teachers with a considerable experience abroad either for study, work or traveling were selected for the interviews, as these are in the network of the author. Therefore caution must be used to make any generalizations from the collected data, as these will probably be unreliable. Still, the interviews do give some directions for thought and input for further studies.

2.5 Definitions and limitations of the research

Every research design has its specific qualities and limitations. The research design used in this study is no exception to that. In general, as is written before, qualitative research is best suited for understanding different opinions and feelings of individual people and a case study is an in-depth study of a certain region. The limitations of this type of research are also clear: the results cannot simply be translated and used to describe the situation in other countries, and the qualitative research design prevents generalization of the results towards the opinion of the majority of the teachers in Russia.

There is no standard set of accepted definitions of many of the terms used in this study. One of the characteristics of the study of nationalism and nation building is that there is a large risk that terms are defined in a fuzzy way. In Eastern Europe for example, the term “nationalism” has more the connotation of what in Western Europe is meant with the term “imperialism”. To avoid any confusion, in this section the most commonly used and relevant terms in this study are defined as follows:

State: The state is an organized political group which exercises authority over a specific territory.

Territory: A geographic area belonging to or under the jurisdiction of a governmental authority. For this study I decided to choose as territory of the Russian Federation the territory that is claimed by the Russian State. This is at the moment of writing, different from the territory as accepted by

International Law and treaties. But given the de-facto situation that Russia exercises power in Crimea, and this area plays a role in the Russian National Narrative and textbooks, I decided to include this area in this case study.

Nation: a people having a common origin, tradition, and language and capable of forming or actually constituting a nation-state.

Nation-state: a form of political organization under which a relatively homogeneous people inhabits a sovereign state. There is in principle just one dominant nation in such a state. This does not mean that such states can't have claims on neighbouring states.

Multi-ethnic state: a form of political organization under which a heterogeneous people inhabits a sovereign state. There may or may not be a dominant nation within the state, but in principle all nations are treated the same.

Nationalism: The development the last 200 years towards feeling part of an "imagined community" of joint ethnic origin, language and national narrative ("invented traditions"). This study deliberately chooses a modernist perspective of nationalism, after Anderson (1983).

Nation building: The efforts of the authorities to create a common national narrative.

National narrative: A coherent "story" of the nation, complete with heroes, symbols, national myths and history with the purpose of creating a unified identity (Hobsbawm, 1990).

Patriotism: Feelings of pride about the nation among its subjects. Patriotism is one of the results of successful nation building activities.

Chauvinism: Feelings of own superiority over other nations.

Civic nationalism: A form of nationalism in which a nation expresses the desire to form or maintain a (nation) state. A bottom-up grassroots development.

State nationalism: A form of nationalism in which a government of a state, try to form a unified national culture using top-down policies and activities.

Ethnic nationalism: The desire of people with the same ethnic background to form a nation-state.

Russian Federation: A sovereign state spanning a large part of Eastern Europe and North Asia. See also under territory. For this case study I define the territory of the Russian Federation as that what is claimed by its authorities, which means including Crimea.

3 Nationalism and Education – theoretical framework

*“Every miserable fool who has nothing at all of which he can be proud,
adopts as a last resource pride in the nation to which he belongs;
he is ready and happy to defend all its faults and follies tooth and nail,
thus reimbursing himself for his own inferiority.”*
Arthur Schopenhauer

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the theoretical background of the key concepts for this study can be found. It also consist of a concise overview of literature in the field of nationalism and nation building. There is an ongoing academic debate about the origins of nationalism, whether it is an age old phenomenon intrinsically linked to people as individuals, or a rather modern phenomenon, invented in the late 18th century, in order to create a new society glue after the demise of the ancient regime, which was ruling by the “grace of God”. The second part of this chapter consist of an overview of the discussion of the role of education in the development of nationalism. Does it encourage or discourage nationalism is the question that pops up in the scientific debate about the subject, or alternatively, maybe these are processes that can occur at the same time, even though they appear paradoxical?

3.2 Definitions of nationalism and nation building

Nationalism is difficult to define, since it consists of so many different aspects. The core of the concept is the term nation, which is sort of seen as a focal point of the ideology, the following suffix, the so-called “ism” part of the term. Nation is difficult to define, yet according to Seton-Watson (1977), everyone somehow feels what it is and uses it. He concludes that no convincing scientific definition for the term nation can be defined. Hall (1993) formulates in his literature overview on nationalism a similar conclusion. Notwithstanding these scientific debates about the term nation, in society and political life, nation is seen as something that is “as natural as the family”, and echoes back into many institutions like the “United Nations”, without knowing exactly what it is (A. D. Smith, 1986). Anderson (1983), proposes a general definition for nation as being an “imagined community”. This definition is often used, and used in this study as well. The idea behind Anderson’s imagined community is that even in the smallest state, citizens will never be able to know each other personally, yet still they feel somehow that they belong together, or in other words “form a community”. Since they do not and cannot know all members of the “community” personally, it is “imagined”. In order to make this community work, it needs heroes and symbols (Anderson, 1983; A. D. Smith, 1986) as well as a territory and myths about the past (Melching, 1992, p. 23). People would need to have these items in order to be able to imagine themselves with this community. Anderson (1983, p. 9) describes the grave of the “Unknown soldier” as victim for the fatherland as a powerful example of one of such symbols. But also other symbols, like for example a common language, the flag or songs, poetry and especially stories about a glorious past can serve this purpose (Melching, 1992, p. 34; Scott, 1926, p. 147).

3.2.1 Origins of nationalism

Most writers agree that nationalism is a relatively modern phenomenon, but disagree just like with the exact definition of the term, when the start of nationalism can be observed. Calhoun (1997) places the year that for the first time clearly can be spoken about nationalism as a driving force of change in society at halfway the 17th century. His conclusion is that with the beheading of King Charles II by commoners under command of Cromwell the people operated as a nation, for the first time in history. Mann (2005, p. 44) suggests that the origins of nationalism can be first found in the Dutch Republic, during the revolt against Spain in the 16th century. Anderson (1983, p. 4), mentions the end of the 18th century as starting point, when elites in the America’s struggle with their

European mother countries for independence. Others, like Hobsbawm (1990) fix the beginning of nationalism at the French Revolution in 1789, where the divinely sanctioned “ancien regime”, was replaced by a government which needed the popular support. Others argue that the birth of nationalism was in the multi-ethnic empires of continental Europe in the early 19th century, especially in Habsburg Austria (with its many minorities) and/or Prussia (based on a shared German culture, leading to the Zollverein and Deutsche Bund). In any case, all these before mentioned authors agree on the relative recent origins of nationalism and position nationalism as a new period in human history where no longer an absolute monarch is ruling the state, but has to take the “will of the people” into consideration as well. The authors who place the origins of nationalism in the early modern period of history are called modernists. On the other side, there are authors who argue that nationalism has in one form or the other always existed, and we are not looking at a modern phenomenon at all, only maybe modern in appearance (Armstrong, 1982), these are called perennialists. And finally, a handful of authors, most notably Anthony Smith (1986, 1991) typically take an in-between position in this debate.

Whatever starting position one takes, modernist or perennial, nationalism is in full swing around 1850 and is deeply influencing European societies and politics from that point: especially after the interesting combination of state nationalism with cultural nationalism in Germany under Bismarck (Anderson, 1983; Calhoun, 1997; Melching, 1992, p. 29), a process in which newly developed state education had an important role (de Rooy, 2018). Anderson notes that the rises of nationalism follows the erosion of the old religion inspired order of Medieval Europe. He cannot identify a causal relationship between the two however and is quick to note that he cannot prove that nationalism is a different “religion” which came in place of the old order based on Christianity in one form or the other. Anderson further argues that the demise of Latin as lingua franca within empires in favour of the vernacular languages (during the last half of the 18th and first half of the 19th century) led to the development of stronger feelings of belonging together and therefore contributed to the rise of nationalism as a political force.

3.2.2 Nationalism and nation building

In many books on the issue, nationalism and nation building are used interchangeably. Jaffrelot (2003) however, defines these two terms as being slightly different and in this study his definition is used as well. Jaffrelot describes the study of nationalism as the study of a historical process, mainly by historians who try to find causes and consequences of the development of these “imagined communities”, whereas nation building focuses more on the actions that can be taken by governments or other actors in society, in order to stimulate the development of a desired “nationalist” result. Nationalist in the previous sentence means the desire to reach political stability, feelings of proudness about the country and a stronger sense of community (also called patriotism). There is another often used and slightly different definition of nation building, the so-called American definition. This is a combination of state building and economic development (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 3). This type of nation building is external driven and rather often involves military intervention (for example Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan or Iraq). Given the context of the Russian Federation and the focus on the educational system, this definition of nation building in relation to military intervention is less suitable for this study, although it might have some relevance in some parts of the Russian Federation, for example in Chechnya, where an extensive rebuilding program started after the war (Mackinnon, 2017). After the Second World War, and under the influence of processes of decolonization and the creation of new states, especially in Africa and Asia, nation building strategies were seen as very important in the creation of viable states (Ekbladh, 2006, p. 19). The results of these activities can be measured with statistics and other quantitative methods. Especially the parts of nation building strategies that are focussing on socio-economic development

issues can be transformed in measurable indicators, even if they are just proxy indicators, it still helps to understand the nation building development (Meritt & Rokkan, 1966). Some examples of such indicators Meritt & Rokkan speak about are the number of school benches, students enrolled in education, number of sold textbooks, women education attendance, or student / teacher ratio. Measuring the effect of nation building in terms of internalizing the desired learning objectives (to become part of the nation) among students is of course much more difficult.

3.2.3 Nationalism and territory

From a geographical perspective, nations and nationalism are usually connected to space, that means a territory where this nation lives (Melching, 1992, p. 23). Or in the case of non-congruence of the actual place of the borders, with the ideas of where those borders should be, claims to where the territory should extend (Newman & Paasi, 1998). In the case of territorial claims on neighbouring countries, this can seriously strain international relations and lead to conflicts or even wars, the most extensive of these, the two World Wars of the 20th century (Melching, 1992, p. 33). The idea of most, but not all, of the national narratives, is that the nation should live in its own territory, and that the borders of this territory should (ideally) exactly match the area in which this specific nation lives, the so called nation-state (Gellner, 1983). In Western Europe, several countries can be classified as nation-states at the end of the 19th century (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990), although there was never a country both then and now which completely fell under this definition. Mann (2005, p. 59) suggests that during the 19th century both cultural repression and voluntary assimilation of minorities in Western Europe led to the successful establishment of a unified national culture and therefore a nation-state. Eugene Weber (1976) for example, writes about this unification policy in rural France, where French was made compulsory in the public sphere and local languages and dialects were portrayed as backward and would indicate a lack of opportunity, so that many people voluntarily decided to assimilate. Even though these incorporation and assimilation mechanisms into nation states are well understood and there seems to be consensus about the subject, with the origins of the process the situation is different. Perhaps not surprisingly, there is an academic debate about the origin of the nation-state, just like with the origin of nationalism, as written earlier in this chapter. Black (2014) for example, places the nation-state, or the desire to reach such a nation-state, at the centre of the political arena, already from the late Middle Ages, when embryonic modern states in (Western) Europe started to take shape. In Central and Eastern Europe, this was not so much the case, instead large empires came into being. Among them the Austrian-Hungarian empire, the Ottoman Empire and of course also the Russian Empire. A third variant was the creation of the “colonial nation state”, of which India is the best example. The British empire succeeded to unite the potpourri of principalities and states and invented and built the Indian nation state (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 4). Nation states and empires are different: by definition, empires are multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural, however even in empires, there is one dominant ethnic group. Anderson calls empires “incompatible to nation-states” (Anderson, 1983, p. 93) and argues that in modern times empires are not sustainable, given that the different ethnic minorities within its borders will seek independence within their own nation state. Gellner (1983) has a similar point of view, he calls empires “agro-literate states”, a sort of pre-modern state form. Both Gellner and Anderson assume that empires as a state form are not suitable for the modern age, as nationalist forces will continue to tear them up. Russia is in that sense an interesting country: as written in chapter 1, ethnic Russians consist of only 80% of the population, and with several ethnic minorities spatially highly concentrated within its territory, some of which consisting of several million people and potentially able to form feasible new states. The question is therefore in how far the Russian Federation actually is a nation-state, even though there is a clearly dominant ethnic group, or that it has more resemblance to a multi-ethnic empire. Does the Russian Federation have a

peaceful coexistence with (most) of its regional ethnic minorities, or can nationalist inspired separatist conflicts (still) be observed? The Russian federal government at least, would like to signal with the name Russian Federation that it consists of different federal republics, with each their own ethnic group that has a relatively large autonomy. It appears to be a sort of compromise between a multi-ethnic Russian Federation as (remnant of) an empire and the autonomous republics as sort of “nation states avant-la-lettre” within this empire. The Russian constitution at least, seems to reject the idea of the Russian Federation as a nation-state centred on the Russian ethnic group, as it says: “The bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation shall be its multinational people”. In order to show this multi-ethnicity of the Russian Federation, its citizens are once again, like in the Czarist times, called “Rossiyanin / Rossianka” (a term coined sometime in the 18th century) replacing the previous “Sovietskiy / Sovetskaya”. This deliberate choice to not call citizens “Russkiy / Russkaya”, after the dominant ethnic group, should help in creating a shared civic identity, although Starink (2016) points out that Rossiyanin and Russkiy are linguistically related and asks herself whether minorities in Russia would in the long term accept Rossiyanin as a description of their nationality.

3.2.4 Theories of nationalism

It is already mentioned that no single satisfactory unifying grand theory about nationalism has been formulated. Instead, Greenfield (1993) identifies five different ways of developing nationalism in her book “five roads to modernity”. Like Anderson, Hobsbawm and Gellner, Greenfield views nationalism as inherent to the development of the modern society, but as a relatively young phenomenon, dating back at best to the 17th century or later to the French revolution. Others, among them Armstrong (1982) and for example also Hegel (1837) view nationalism as a much older phenomenon, which in more or less recognizable forms has shaped world history from times immemorial. Hegel describes in his magnum opus “Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte”, his dialectic philosophy of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis and describes history of countries with its bloody warfare and revolutions as an unavoidable continued form of seeking to unite thesis and anti-thesis into synthesis. When such synthesis is found, human civilization develops further. According to Hegel, throughout history, nationalism in one form or the other is one of the forces that keeps groups of people together and is ultimately responsible for the development of countries. As examples of this mechanism, the ancient Greeks and Jews are often quoted examples. Weeks (2002) to name just one example, suggests that from the Biblical stories of ancient Israel, an early ancient form of nationalism can be observed, albeit that he is not sure whether this is merely a political claim of the elite of the southern kingdom of Juda on the northern kingdom of Israel, or a broadly shared idea of a single nation divided into two separate kingdoms among the general population.

Hegel and subsequent thinkers who stress the importance of the nation as ancient and defining principle for society today have often been called primordialist or perennialist nationalist thinkers. Characteristic of this type of thought is the idea that nations are a natural unchanging phenomenon. Early primordialists like Johann Gottfried von Herder considered the common language as the defining factor for the nation, a notion that comes back also in the works of Hegel, already mentioned before. The primordialist view on nationalism is that there is a strong influence of nature and climate on the so-called national character, and one belongs to a certain nation by birth, and it cannot be changed or adopted at a later age, as in the earliest years of life the values and beliefs are being taught by parents, and symbols of this are broadcasted in public, so that the child therefore becomes part of an age old social structure, or nation and subconsciously later on in adult life transmit these values to their children again (Geertz, 1973). This primordialist perspective has been a bit out of fashion since these views were adopted by national socialist ideology, but also strongly

influenced imperialist thought (a famous example of this is the “White-man’s burden” poem by Rudyard Kipling), but also smaller European countries like the Netherlands had similar imperialist tendencies (van den Doel, 1992, p. 208). As written before, early primordialists focused on language and culture and were more interested in history than in political power and caused nationalism to remain a relatively weak factor in politics, at least until the revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe, after which nationalism was adopted by governments and became a political force (Melching, 1992, pp. 27, 29).

As a counter-reaction / alternative for the primordialist nationalism ideas, the modernist nationalism approach was developed by among others Seton-Watson, Hobsbawm and Anderson, already quoted earlier in this chapter. Anderson puts the birth of nationalism in the 18th century America’s, where settlers fought for freedom from their king George III in England (“No taxation without representation”). Anderson and Greenfield discuss the struggle of the colonists in America as a form of civic nationalism, firmly rooted in the Enlightenment, as a sort of liberal emancipatory movement, of citizens to acquire equal rights with the old nobility. Hobsbawm places the birth of nationalism at the French Revolution, where the ancient regime was replaced by a government of the people. The so-called “will of the people” was the driving force behind nationalism in his view. No longer was a monarch responsible for the wellbeing of the people, but something more abstract, namely the community of the French people. Nationalism keeps nations together in this new situation, not the monarch anymore. In order to get legitimacy for this new type of thinking, Anderson, Gellner, Greenfield and Hobsbawm argue that “new” traditions needed to be invented, which (re)interpreted history in a nationalist way and view certain past periods as golden ages and so on. It is interesting to note that, in the view of these authors, nationalism at its start is generally a progressive civic movement, although this is going to change in the course of the 19th century, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Characteristic of this modernist nationalism type of thought is the denial of any real historic base behind nationalism, but instead a 19th century interpretation of history. Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983) do observe that even though in their opinion these traditions were clearly invented, the population was very willing to accept these ideas. Anderson (1983, p. 118) for example, amazes himself about the content of textbooks in the colonies of the British Empire at the turn of the 20th century: in those textbooks, the Barons, who imposed the Magna Carta on Jean Plantagenet were described as the defenders of English independence, even though they had no conception of being English at that time and didn’t even speak the language. On top of this flawed historical re-interpretation, children in colonies that were occupied by the British had to read about these so-called “defenders of their freedom”, which must have been like a caricature for them.

Of course these two types of thinking about nationalism are both ends of a spectrum. There is also a sort of middle position, which is for example advocated by Anthony Smith (1986, 1991). He suggests that nationalism is in fact often based on ancient ethnic communities. He acknowledges that states and the nation state are products of the modern age, but ethnic elements within these states go back a long way into history and are therefore not – at least not completely – “invented traditions”, one of the key concepts of Anderson.

Generally speaking, the stronger and more persisting the pre-existing ethnic identity, the more likely was any nation that might emerge from such identity (A. D. Smith, 1991, p. 71).

Anderson in contrast for example, mentions the “birth” of the Peruvian nation as an example of the modern-ness of the nation. He places the birth of Peru as a nation at the time that the Spanish settlers (the Creoles), when they became increasingly frustrated with Madrid at the end of the 18th century, suddenly start to describe themselves and the natives of these lands as fellow-Peruvians. In the period before, natives were barely seen as human beings and because of political reasons they were suddenly upgraded to “fellow countrymen and brothers”. Anderson’s ideas for the

development of the national feelings become clear in his so called “pilgrimage” parable, in which people on the way to the top meet each other during their path upwards. However, the maximum what colony born people could reach, was the capital of the colony. A function in Madrid was not an option. So, while these people in the colonies were following their career path, they met people from all corners of the colony and in that way, a new national identity was born. A similar process happened in the Dutch Indies, where people in their “pilgrimage” upwards met with people from all over the archipelago, but for all of them, Batavia was the highest they could reach. In this way, colonial nationalism was developed (Anderson, 1983). Anthony Smith in turn, does acknowledge that nationalist interpretation of history is likely to be incomplete and often flawed, however the common identity as a group is something that cannot be overlooked and does provide a real historical legitimation, more than just the result of a political process where people met and developed new national feelings, because the way upwards was blocked. Nationalism in his opinion is a force that keeps the ethnic group together throughout history, but only in modern times the idea of self-determination was added to the idea, and has led to the development of separatist movements and the development of the nation-state ideal.

3.2.5 Functions of nationalism

The function of nationalism, as put forward by all before mentioned authors is to act as the glue between people of a certain nation, whether one considers these nations real and factually existing, like the primordialists, or imagined, like modernists. This principle automatically leads to an in-group – out-group discussion, with sometimes in extreme cases a lot of enmities towards the several out-groups which are viewed as threatening. Nationalism can be therefore best seen as the particular force to protect the nation from external threats, and it appears when and where a particular ethnic group feels itself threatened in its existence (Hastings, 1997, p. 4; Wingfield-Hayes, 2016). Modernists like Anderson and Hobsbawm observe an interesting development of the function of nationalism throughout the 19th century. The 19th century was an era of immense changes in terms of a changing society from agriculture towards an industrial society, the industrial revolution. Previously powerful groups like the landed gentry suddenly felt that they were under threat to become marginalized, because of the strong development of cities during this industrial revolution, as they were unable to compete with the new class of entrepreneurs. In response, these old elites sort of took the emerging feelings of nationalism among the people and turned them towards their interests. At its start nationalism was a revolutionary force aimed at liberty and civic emancipation of the masses, but it was captured by the old elites and made into a conservative or even reactionary force, in order to preserve the status of the old elite (Anderson, 1983, p. 109; Hall, 1993). In short, a shift from popular civic nationalism towards a more official state nationalism can be observed. This state nationalism at first served as a mechanism to unify different states in Western Europe into unified nation states with a single language, for example in France, a situation the French government is still wary to change (De Pater, 2009). In Eastern Europe, nationalism arrived later and largely skipped its early “grassroots” civic phase and was introduced from above by the state (Dungaciu, 1999; Melching, 1992, p. 35). Nationalism in Eastern Europe is therefore more reactionary and ethnicity oriented than in Western Europe. Indeed, in Eastern Europe there were more military conflicts in the late 19th and 20th centuries than in Western Europe, which in itself could also partly explain the different style of nationalism in this part of Europe (Melching, 1992, p. 35). Russia was no exception to this, in an attempt to cement the huge empire together, the Russian Czarist Empire employed so called “Russification” policies in the 19th century (Curtis, 1996, p. 36; Wortman, 2000) aimed at assimilation of minorities.

The growing nationalist tensions in Europe ultimately lead to the First World War. After this cataclysmic war, the age of empires in Europe came to an abrupt end and the nation-state became

the new norm, based on the ideas of the US President Wilson, who believed that self-determination for nations within the multi-national European empires would solve a lot of problems (Melching, 1992, p. 34; Paul, 2015, p. 309). This policy was also applied to invented “nation-states” like Yugoslavia (Hobsbawm, 1990). This process became even stronger after the Second World War and subsequent decolonization in Africa and Asia in the 1950s and 1960s: The Dutch, Belgian, French, British and finally also the Portuguese colonial empires came to an end in sometimes bloody fights for independence. The driving force behind these independence movements was the awakening nationalism, or as Hobsbawm and Ranger call it, the newly invented and constructed nationalism in order to serve the interests of the local elite (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

Several authors have discussed the future of nationalism in a globalizing world. Newman & Paasi (1998) identify four lines of thought or scenarios regarding the future of borders and the nation state: First of all there is the idea among some authors that in the globalized world, with all its connections between countries and people all over the world, the nation state and borders will slowly but surely disappear. The second line of thought is more or less the opposite, which they call the construction of sociospatial identities. This is a scenario that because of the worldwide connections in a globalized world it becomes more and more necessary to think about one’s identity in order to feel distinction among the others. The third line of thought Newman & Paasi identify in the literature is that several authors view borders as instrument for inclusion and exclusion of people. In this line of thought the historical narrative has a central place as well as to feel part of a community and look at different groups as “others”, but with some “others” being more other than others (for example European vs. African immigrants in European countries). The fourth line of thought is that of boundaries and spatial scale. There is a debate on how to properly identify suitable spatial scales of analysis, this in connection with subjects like geopolitics on the international level and with the influence of local and regional borders on people’s behaviour on smaller spatial scales. What is clear from the debates and lines of thought identified by Newman & Paasi is that nationalism is a multi-faceted concept. It contains many different aspects and changed throughout history from a civic liberation force to a conservative and reactionary one (Hall, 1993; Hobsbawm, 1990; Melching, 1992).

3.2.6 Types of nationalism

Within nationalist thought, different gradations can be found. Some other terms that are associated with nationalism are chauvinism and patriotism need some explanation, as they are often used in conjunction with nationalism, although their meaning is slightly different. Patriotism is the attachment to one’s homeland or country. These feelings of patriotism are of course fed by nationalism. A good example of American patriotism can be found in the work of Samuel Huntington (2004), when he describes in his book “Who are we?” the components of American identity and with a certain sadness concludes that this identity and values based on “Anglo-Saxon Protestantism” are under erosion, especially because of large numbers of immigrants from Mexico, who according to his earlier work on “the clash of civilizations”, come from another cultural civilization. Their Latin mentality is, in his view, in several ways not compatible with Western civilization. Anthony Smith (1991) gives a number of examples and mechanisms behind patriotism, and he observes that in many cases belonging to an ethnic group is one of the most important reasons to identify oneself with a country and develop feelings of pride for it. Anderson mentions the example of the fallen “Unknown Soldier” as powerful image to feel what patriotism is:

...many different nations have such tombs without feeling the need to specify the nationality of its absent occupants. What else could they be but Americans, Germans, Argentinians...? The cultural significance of these monuments become even clearer if one tries to imagine the tomb for the Unknown Marxist or the cenotaph of the fallen Liberals. Is a sense of absurdity

avoidable? The reason is that neither Marxism nor Liberalism is much concerned with death and immortality (Anderson, 1983, p. 10).

Strong patriotism is about feelings of adoration of the nation and the willingness to sacrifice and/or even die for the greater good of the nation. It should be observed that patriotism is a defensive phenomenon, focused on protection of the homeland, the nation. Aggressive forms of nationalism also exists, and are often called expansionist nationalism or chauvinism. Chauvinism is named after the soldier Nicolas Chauvin, according to de Puymège (1997), an invented myth about a brave and loyal peasant-soldier who had the dream of uniting the French people during the Napoleonic Wars, regardless of class and political orientation against its foreign enemies. Chauvinism came to stand for excessive patriotism, which involved feelings of superiority towards other nations and has led in extreme forms to the development of racism, fascism and Nazism. Another slightly more moderate derivative of patriotism and chauvinism is national conservatism, a political movement that at the time of writing seems to gain momentum in several European countries, which propagates nationalist and anti-European Union thought. Also the election of Donald Trump as US President in 2016 has been placed in the perspective of the rise of several forms of national conservatism in the USA.

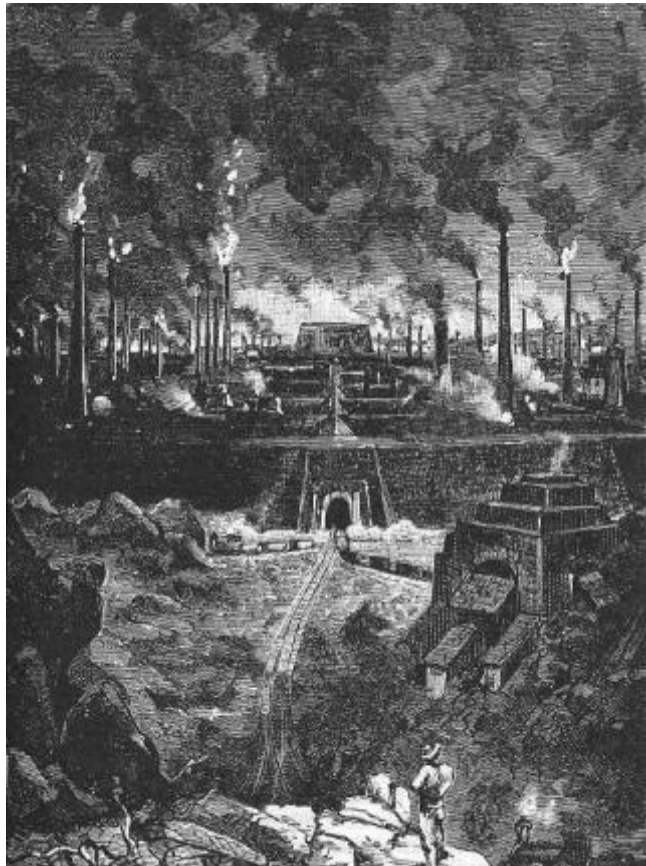


Figure 3.1 Alleged chauvinism of Jules Verne: on the engraving a view of "Stahlstadt", a dystopian city designed and run by Germans (in comparison to the utopian nearby France-ville).
Source: Jules Verne (1879), *the 500 million of the Begum*

Closely connected with chauvinism is the so-called expansionist nationalism, also known as imperialism, a feeling that the nation should increase its territory, legitimized by the chauvinist idea that the home nation is superior over others. Imperialism led to the division of Africa among major European powers at the conference in Berlin in 1883 (Hobsbawm, 1990). In this line of thought there is the idea that the goal of the expansionist nationalism leads to the desire to become (or stay) a hegemonial nation. Hegemony is an idea coined by Gramsci (1971, p. 506) and focuses on the idea that within a state, the weaker members follow and adopt the cultural ideas by the elite, mainly through instruments such as propaganda and the educational system, in order to create unity. In the international sphere, the idea of expansionist nationalism is that the nation should ideally be a hegemonial nation, which is able to influence the rest of the world (or at least the neighbouring countries) with policies or ideas or trade which support and strengthen its interests. Some conservative writers, such as Max Boot (2002) express a desire for a clear hegemonic and imperialistic USA, as he remarks:

Afghanistan and other troubled lands today cry out for the sort of enlightened foreign administration once provided by self-confident Englishmen in jodhpurs and pith helmets.

In the first decade of the 21st century, this type of expansionist nationalism has led to a strong focus on “winning the hearts and minds” of the people, by digging wells, building schools and repairing roads (Hodge, 2011, p. 9). By building these things and focusing on education these countries would become more peaceful was the general idea.

The figures 3.2 and 3.3 provide a brief visual overview of the different types of nationalism, in order to conclude this section.

Types of nationalism (all types of nationalism have both cultural and political components)

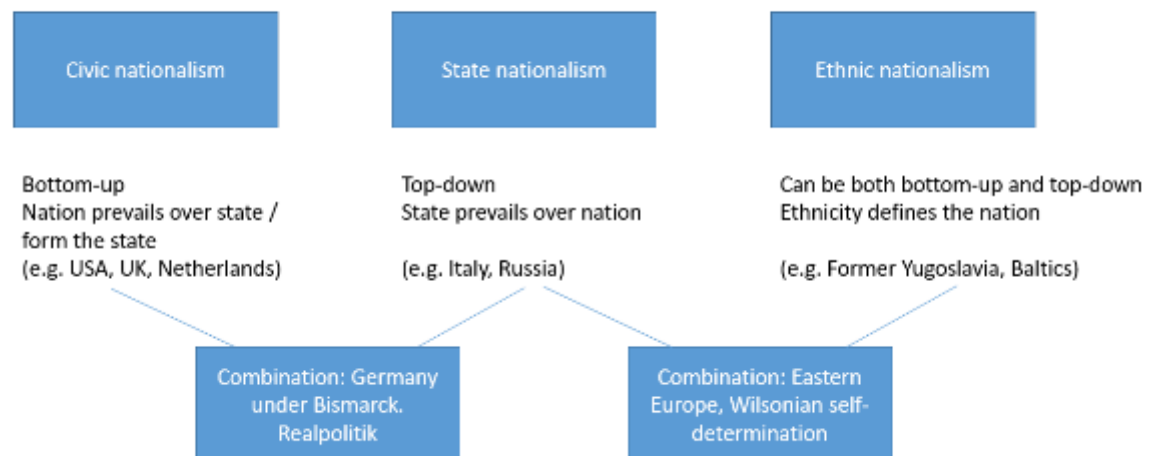


Figure 3.2: Types of nationalism

Types of political nationalism

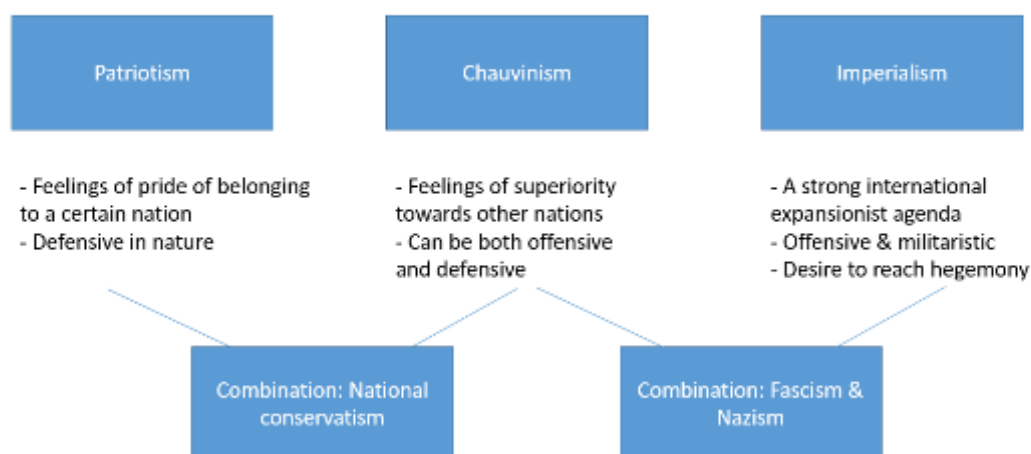


Figure 3.3: Types of political nationalism

3.3 Education and nation-building, a double edged sword

The title of this section about education shows that education has a paradoxical role in the debate and study of nationalism and nation-building. One vision about the education system is that the education system is really just an instrument of hegemony for broadcasting the ideas of the elite

(like Gramsci would suggest) and is a useful instrument in terms of spreading imperialist ideas. Another vision is that a more nuanced view of the education system in this sense is better justified, as it can be observed that the higher the level of education, usually the lower the feelings of nationalism.

In order to understand both visions on education, it is necessary to take a closer look at the education system, as a powerful agent to socialize young people, an idea first described by Durkheim (2011, p. 33). Another important agent of change being the mass-media, however this falls outside the scope of this study. Like in the previous section, the academic debate on the role of the education systems in acquiring a national identity goes



Figure 3.4 Ukrainian “patriotic education”, a new subject at school.
Source: (Wingfield-Hayes, 2016)

along the same lines of “primordialists” on the one hand and “modernists” on the other hand. Primordialists like Hegel (1837) and Geertz (1973) would argue that either nationality is innate or acquired subconsciously by the implicit messages that parents and others close to the infant broadcast during the earliest years of the life. Education is therefore doing not much more than deepen the knowledge of what is already there. De Rooy (2018) argues that the German “Volksschulen” in the 19th century were the first schools where nationalist ideas were systematically taught under title “citizenship education”. For modernists, the education system is a key instrument in creating these national feelings among young people and once created, to support and deepen it. Even though there are differences, there is broad consensus among researchers that education is perhaps the most important agent to socialize young people and broadcast desired norms and values (de Rooy, 2018; Durkheim, 2011; Scott, 1926; Selznick & Steinberg, 1969; Weil, 1985) so that young students will internalize the broadcasted “invented or not” traditions and “in-group / out-group sentiments” (Arnott & Ozga, 2010; Moskal, 2016; Nóvoa, 2000). Hobsbawm (1990, p. 60) for example mentions that in Italy at the time of the unification in 1860 only 3 percent of the people spoke Italian, but because of the education system, this number went up very fast, showing the power of a little coercion by the education system, backed of course by the ideas of the government / elite. Gramsci (1971) an early 20th century Communist revolutionary, goes even further and cynically describes the education system as an institutionalized indoctrination vehicle to continue the hegemony of the elite on the rest of the society and let the ordinary people work for their interests. Because of this indoctrination, the rest of the society seemingly willingly accepts this, but in reality they are tricked by the bourgeoisie / elite into believing that their nationality is worth fighting and dying for.

There is however also another side to the education system, which can arguably be dampening the effects of nationalism, as the title of this section already suggests. A clear correlation between level of education and feelings of nationalism have been found in many studies: The higher the education level, the lower usually the levels of strong ethnocentrism or other extremist feelings among individuals (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; Nunn, Crockett, & Williams, 1978). This education effect applies to both less “in-group” idealization as well as less “out-group” suspicion or even downright racism (Billiet, Carton, & Huys, 1990). This negative effect on ethnocentrism is even stronger in ethnically diverse classrooms (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012), provided that

group members have equal status, common goals, inter-group cooperation and authority support (Pettigrew, 1998). In these cases, which can be met in most classroom settings, prejudice and other issues related to people from different groups can be overcome. The Russian top-banker Herman Gref mentioned in a discussion on the need to increase Russian education quality exactly his fear of its power to dampen nationalism. He stated among others that when the people are well educated they form their own opinion, which makes it impossible to manipulate them and thus the country will fall apart, a thought that scares him (Politika 365, 2018). The issue of the education system as agent to break “invented traditions” and prejudice falls largely outside of the scope of this study, as this study is focused on deliberate nation-building intentions and activities in geography education. Nonetheless, it is important to realize the potential double and somewhat paradoxical role of the education system in society.

The geography education curriculum provides excellent opportunities for nation building (MacKenzie, 1984, p. 175). The spatial nature of geography makes it a good subject to show the territory as a unity and in certain cases also about showing territorial claims on lost territories with historical maps to provide proof for such claims. Furthermore heroism of fighting and dying for the nation in wars can be connected to this (Green, 1997, p. 127). British geography textbooks in the 19th century supported imperialist views by depicting less developed continents like Africa as dark and barbarian, waiting for the beneficial helping hand of the British Empire (Horn, 1988, p. 43). In other parts of Europe, the geography education was used to legitimize irredentist / revanchist territorial claims, like for example in the case of France claiming a “lost” Alsace-Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 (Paul, 2015, p. 316).



Figure 3.5 Irredentism / revanchism in France. Geography class with teaching about the “lost” Alsace-Lorraine region.
Source: painting “La tache noire”, Albert Betannier, 1887

In the 20th century imperialism fell out of fashion, but geography education still plays a role in nation building, as it communicates and firmly entrenches the place of the borders of the state and therefore helps to divide the world in in-groups and out-groups (Newman & Paasi, 1998), even though geography may well be equipped to break these boundaries, as the nature of the discipline involves thinking on different scale levels (C. Taylor, 2009). That this is not always happening is clear, in the US state of Florida for example, the government issued the directive that American history should be viewed as factual, not constructed. It also means that borders are seen as natural and static in this view (VanSledright, 2008), which will shape the way children think. In fact, according to Wimmer & Schiller (2002) nationalism is influential in education and might even grow in importance, despite of globalization and the so-called development of the world as a global village. This becomes especially apparent in the way how migration is discussed in geography textbooks: it is dealt with as movement of people between nation states, without realizing that new patterns of migration are appearing in Europe which work in a completely different way and involve much more the development of (temporary) transnational communities, a situation the geography education turns a blind eye towards. P.J. Taylor (2000) even goes as far as to suggest to stop using terms as “international” in geography at all and change them for example for “cosmopolitan” (as in cosmopolitan law instead of international law), in order not to “inject nationalist thought” into teaching about the process of globalization. Some authors report to see already such supposedly anti-nationalism movements, like in formulated goals of geography education “The good citizen is a globally competitive worker” (Hanson Thiem, 2009). This however is a narrow view about nationalism, only dealing with economic thinking, in order to reach a post-nationalist mind-set.

3.4 Conceptual model of nationalism and education

This study looks at the influence of nationalism, but in particular nation building on the Russian education system and therefore consists of several components. As seen from the past, described in the earlier sections of this chapter, nationalism in Germany became a powerful uniting force after the combination of bottom-up civic nationalism and top-down state nationalism. It is therefore interesting to see if and in how far this combination of top-down and bottom-up nationalism can be observed in the Russian secondary school geography education.

In practice, the concept of state nationalism (nationalism from above) is the most logical concept to describe the situation in the education system, and can be formulated as follows: The government (or elite) formulates a number of core objectives, as to how history and the place of borders, the culture and feelings of pride about the country should be taught. These core objectives are put into the geography education curriculum and supposedly taught to the students. This could then lead to two reactions, opposition or acceptance. In situations of opposition, when the nation building ideas formulated do not resonate with either teachers and/or students, it might happen that this will lead to a possible change in the core objectives, a situation of adjustment.

In situations of acceptance of the given national narrative, it may lead to feelings of national pride (patriotism or even chauvinism), reinforcing the effectiveness of the teaching of the national narrative, and the ideas of the government (or elite) are supported by the general population, and becoming part of the so-called cultural nationalism (mostly identified by the more bottom-up civic nationalism). As discussed in this chapter before, the education system is one of the key agents of change in terms of desired results related to the spread of nationalism in society.

On the other hand, education can also function as a process of dampening the effects of nationalism, as the more educated people are, the less likely they tend to develop strong feelings of patriotism and/or chauvinism. This is what is called the development of society. This development of society

has an indirect effect (for example via elections of a new more moderate or radical government) on the superimposed national narrative and core objectives. All these relations can be visually shown in the conceptual model figure 3.6.

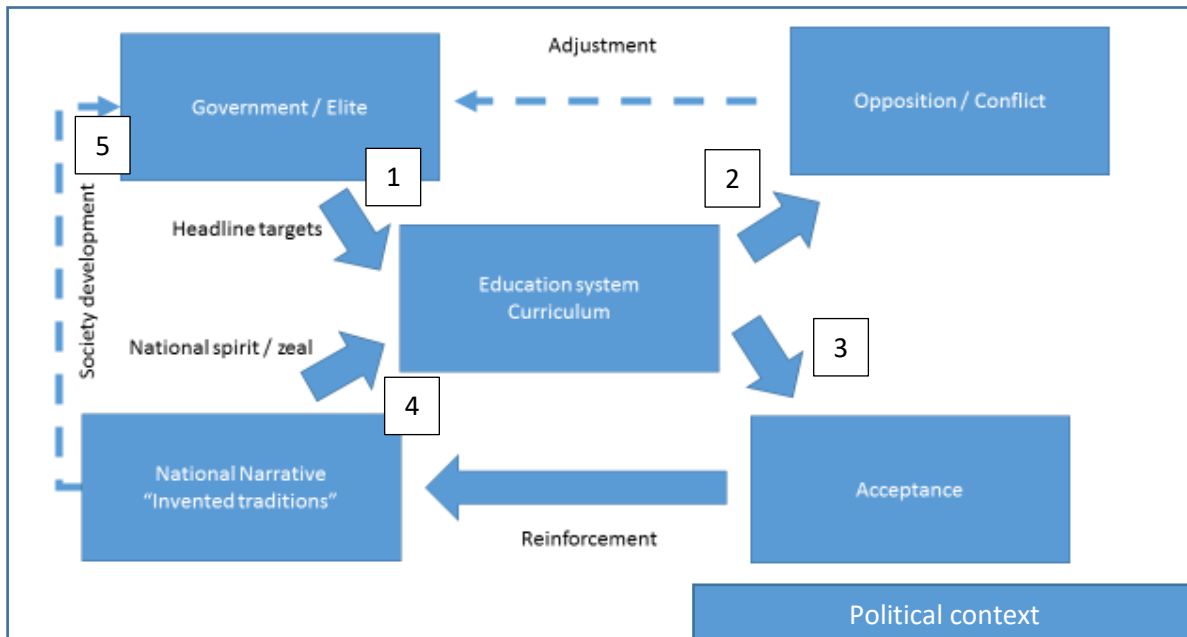


Figure 3.6: Conceptual model of the study.

The relations in the conceptual model are based on the conclusions of the following studies:

1. Government imposes core objectives for the national education based on its preference of a certain dominant national narrative and uses the education system as vehicle for socializing youth (Arnott & Ozga, 2010; de Rooy, 2018; Moskal, 2016; Nóvoa, 2000; Selznick & Steinberg, 1969; Weil, 1985). In the context of Russia, with its strong hierarchy, there is strong evidence that president Putin was involved in pushing forward a specific national narrative and patriotism (Lovorn & Tsyrlina-Spady, 2015; Tsyrlina-Spady & Stoskopf, 2016; Zajda & Smith, 2013).
2. The desired effects do not take place, because of ethnic differences or tribalism. For example the situation of natives in the Dutch Indies during the colonial period who did not adopt a feeling of "Dutchness" (Anderson, 1983, p. 117). Experiments of nation-building in Iraq and Afghanistan (Hodge, 2011, p. 9) or in case of Russia for example the removal of the period of the "Mongol yoke" from the curriculum because of pressure from several ethnic groups in the country (Alexandrova, 2013; Bilz-Leonhardt, 2008; Russian press review, 2014). There is also evidence of opposition from Russian teachers to new guidelines for education as being too patriotic and leaving too little place for other skills (Katsva, 2015; Sadovnichy, 2011; Tsyrlina-Spady, 2016). This opposition may or may not lead to adjustment of the education guidelines by the authorities.
3. The desired effects do take place, and "invented traditions" appear and/or are reinforced (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).
4. These desired effects have a self-supporting effect, leading to patriotism and possibly even chauvinism (de Puymège, 1997; Scott, 1926, p. 147). Examples of this are presentations of geography teachers on the enlargement of the Russian Federation with Crimea (See for example Romanenko, 2015; Scheffer, 2015) and the changes in paradigm about teaching

patriotism among history teachers (Lovorn & Tsyrlina-Spady, 2015; Zajda & Smith, 2013) as well as the changes in history textbooks (Konradova, 2009; Tsyrlina-Spady & Lovorn, 2015; Zajda & Zajda, 2003).

5. Development of society and the effects of a generally higher educated population on dampening and nuancing nationalism (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; Hanson Thiem, 2009; Nunn et al., 1978). See also Hobsbawm (1990) for a description of his idea of different stages of nationalism.

In the empirical part of this study, geography textbooks are analysed and discussed for evidence of the dominant Russian national narrative and how it is presented to the students. Some teachers are interviewed as well, in order to ask their position and to learn about the opinion of other teachers in their surroundings. In order to provide context of the Russian situation, to better understand the ideas put forward by textbooks and teachers, in the next chapter the dominant national narrative and its development are discussed.

4 Russian history and development of nationalism

Russia is a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma
Winston Churchill

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the Russian history is discussed. By no means is this meant to be a complete overview of the Russian history, but instead an overview that discusses the main points which are mentioned in the Russian national narrative as being founding myths and/or inspirational figures and events from history for society today. The second part of the chapter consists of a comparison of the Russian nationalism in the context of other Central and Eastern European countries and an overview of the largest ethnic groups in Russia.

4.2 Russian history and the development of a national narrative

The Russian Federation is a young state, it came into being in December 1991, following the break-up of the Soviet Union. This however doesn't mean that the Russian nation is equally young. The Russian nation goes back a long way in history. This section consists of the headlines of the history of



Figure 4.1: Map of the territory of Kievan Rus, which is seen in the Russian national narrative as the predecessor of the Russian empire. In the Ukrainian national narrative it is seen as the predecessor of Ukraine.

Source: Wikimaps

that what came to be known as the Russian nation as well as the activities of the government of the Russian Federation and its predecessors in terms of nation building. This chapter consists of a description of a couple of key periods and events which are important to understand the Russian national narrative. Many excellent books have been written about Russian history, some of which are cited here in this section, these can be used for further reading about the subject.

4.2.1 Medieval history: Kievan Rus and the modern Russian and Ukrainian state

The medieval history of the Russian nation is shrouded in mystery and controversy. Generally speaking most Russian historians place the start of the Russian nation at the establishment of the Kievan Rus Federation in the 9th century AD (Chadwick, 1946; Plokhy, 2006). Kievan Rus was a loose federation of Eastern Slavic tribes, which were allied in terms of war in order to repel invaders, especially the Khazars towards the east. The Kievan Rus Federation, or Empire (as called by some) lasted until the devastating Mongol invasions in the 12th century. The first legendary leader of this Russian state was Rurik the Varangian (Viking), who according to different sources came from Scandinavia and was invited to protect Novgorod. The first of (many) controversies among Russian historians is if he was Germanic or Slavic (Plokhy, 2006, p. 10). Historians argue also whether he was invited to become the ruler of Novgorod, or he simply usurped power (Chadwick, 1946; Hazzard Cross & Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 1953). In any case, he founded a dynasty of rulers that lasted until the death of Vasili IV in the early seventeenth century. Rurik's successor Oleg the Wise conquered Kiev and moved the capitol there, hence the name Kievan Rus. In the late 10th century, the Kievan Rus territory became Christianized under the ruler Vladimir I (In several historical sources he is mentioned as Valdimarr, a clearly Scandinavian name, showing his Viking descent) (Chadwick, 1946, p. 65), after he married the sister of the Byzantine Emperor. After the Great Schism of 1054, successors of Vladimir chose to participate in the Eastern Church (Orthodox Church), as there were strong economic links with Byzantium. Because of this, Russian culture is a sort of melting pot of Slavic and Byzantine influences (Hazzard Cross & Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 1953). According to the same text, the Byzantine Emperor sent the brothers Cyril and Methodius (who among other work developed the predecessor of the Cyrillic script as Slavic adaptation of the Greek alphabet), as missionaries to Kievan Rus, leading to the adoption of this alphabet by the Orthodox Church and later also by the rest of society.

In the period Yaroslav the Wise, the Kievan Rus reached its largest extent, but after his death the Kievan Rus territory was split up among different lines of rulers from the Rurik dynasty. In the centuries following, internal fighting for power weakened the state, until it was ultimately conquered by the Mongols in the 1240s (Plokhy, 2006). During the period of decline of the Kievan Rus state, some important figures in the Russian national narrative emerged, the most important of them Alexander Nevsky, who ruled the republic of Novgorod at the time of the Mongol conquest. He defeated the Swedes at the battle of Neva (hence his nickname Nevsky) and later the invading Teutonic Knights close to Pskov, during the Battle on Ice on lake Peipus. Nevsky is seen as one of the main characters of Russian medieval history and is supposed to have said "Whoever will come to us with a sword, from a sword he will perish". This phrase has become one of the slogans of Russian nationalism. Alexander Nevsky's popularity rose to new heights during the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, as one of the famous historical defenders of the motherland against German / Teutonic aggression.

Controversy among historians arises whether the Kievan Rus citizens felt themselves belonging to one identity or not. Historians in Imperial Russia in the 19th century wrote about the principality of Muscovy as being the one true successor of the Kievan Rus. The Ukrainians did and do the same, claiming that Kievan Rus is the one and only predecessor of Ukraine and finally the Belarusians claim the principality of Polotsk and subsequent Grand Duchy of Lithuania to be a separate part of Kievan Rus, and therefore from the beginning different from both Russia and Ukraine (Plokhy, 2006, pp. 11-12). Plokhy describes in detail the way how Ukrainian nationalists in this new country in the early 1990s claimed all kind of Kievan Rus symbols (for example the trident in the coat of arms of Ukraine) and put Kievan Rus princes on Ukrainian banknotes. The consequences of the different reading of history are large: In imperial Russia during the 19th century, the unity (and thus also the reason to be in one single state) of the East Slavic peoples was strongly advocated, an idea which also has its followers among modern Russian historians. In this view, there is only one true authority, which is the Moscow government and there is just one language, the Russian language. The Ukrainian and Belarusian languages are seen as no more than odd regional dialects in this view (Seton-Watson, 1967, p. 272). In times of the Soviet Union, the development of the before mentioned three East Slavic nations on the basis of equality was propagated. The narrative was that the three peoples brotherly together overthrew the oppression of the Czar, bourgeoisie and church (Seton-Watson, 1977). This controversy leads nowadays to a quite different view in what is Russia and on claims on how large Russia should be. Ultra-nationalist Russian writers like Dugin (2012) propagate an All-Russian nation, or even more broad, a union of all Orthodox nations (which includes not only Ukraine and Belarus, but also Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Greece) led by Russia. The legitimization of these claims lay in the historical interpretation of Kievan Rus linked with the closely related development of the Orthodox Church together with the state. Fukuyama (2011) for example, describes the Orthodox Church as ceasaropapist, a church under the strong influence of the state. The church is therefore used as a vehicle to legitimate political goals and ambitions of the state. The Orthodox Church is therefore a national and autocephalous church, mainly active just within the borders of the country. There is the Russian Orthodox Church with its own patriarchate, but also separate Georgian, Serbian, Romanian, Bulgarian etc. with their patriarchates. It means as well that there is a very different relation between church and state as compared to Western-Europe, where since the Investiture controversy, a process of split between church and state, with each their own independent domain can be observed. The Western Church is international and in principle not bound to any national borders.



Figure 4.2 Coat of arms of the state of Ukraine adopted in 1992. A symbol used in the Middle-Ages by rulers of Kievan Rus.

4.2.2 The period of the Mongol “occupation”

After the demise of Kievan Rus in the 1240s, and the destruction of Kiev, the invading Mongol armies under Ghengis Khan occupied large parts of Russia, just the remote northern Novgorod Republic under the before mentioned Alexander Nevsky remained more or less independent. The Mongols decided to stay and to create a huge empire called the “Golden Horde”. The destruction of Kiev caused a flow of refugees moving northward towards Novgorod, Vladimir and Moscow, cities which were more or less spared from destruction. Among the refugees from Kiev was the Holy See of the Orthodox Church. It moved during this time to Vladimir and later, after 1322, to Moscow. This move greatly increased the stature of Moscow as a city, as the Orthodox Church was seen by many as one of the unifying symbols for the Russian nation (Hosseini, 2005). Another consequence of the Mongol occupation and of the Russian choice for Orthodoxy was that it effectively closed off Russia for

economic and cultural developments like the Renaissance in the rest of Europe and brought a more “Asian” mentality to the Russian state (Stearns, Adas, Schwartz, & Gilbert, 1992). In traditional Russian sources, this period is seen as a dark period of occupation, the so-called “Mongol yoke” (De Hartog, 1996). Eurasianists however, like Berdyaev, Dugin and especially Gumilyov have a quite different view on the Mongol occupation: Gumilyov (1989) is the most outspoken, and argues that there was not such a thing as a Mongol

occupation and oppression, but instead of that it was a period of protection for Russia, with internal freedom and tolerance, in which the church could flourish and the Russian identity could develop, while the nation was militarily protected from detrimental expansionist and imperialist effects of the Western world. Minority republics in Russia like Tatarstan and Bashkortostan see themselves as successor nations of the Mongol Hordes and strongly support the view of the Mongols, especially Genghis Khan as being “reformers”, instead of an occupational force (Alexandrova, 2013).

4.2.3 The formation of the Russian state

Reformers or not, just like Kievan Rus before them, the Mongol Golden Horde declined, in the centuries after they established power, among others because of frequent internal fights for power among different usurpers. De Hartog (1996) argues that the depopulation of the area because of slave trade was also an important reason of the decay of the Golden Horde. Whatever the actual cause was, the civil unrest in the decaying Golden Horde, meant a power vacuum, of which the Muscovite principality profited the most (Hosseini, 2005). In 1440, the Golden Horde broke up into seven smaller Khanates, none of which separate was more powerful than Muscovy. Before long, from 1480 onwards, Muscovy gained full independence from the Mongols and in the century that followed, Muscovy subjugated most of the Khanates. During these campaigns, the rulers Ivan III and Ivan IV (the terrible), were able to enormously expand the territory of Muscovy. Ivan III is nicknamed “Gatherer of the Russian lands”, because of his success in achieving independence for Muscovy and subjugating several of the Mongol Khanates. Ivan III was the first one who adopted the title Czar (from Caesar), as he considered this a worthy title for someone who ruled over an empire. Ivan IV, his grandson, changed the name of Muscovy into Russia, the land of the Rus. With this action, Ivan

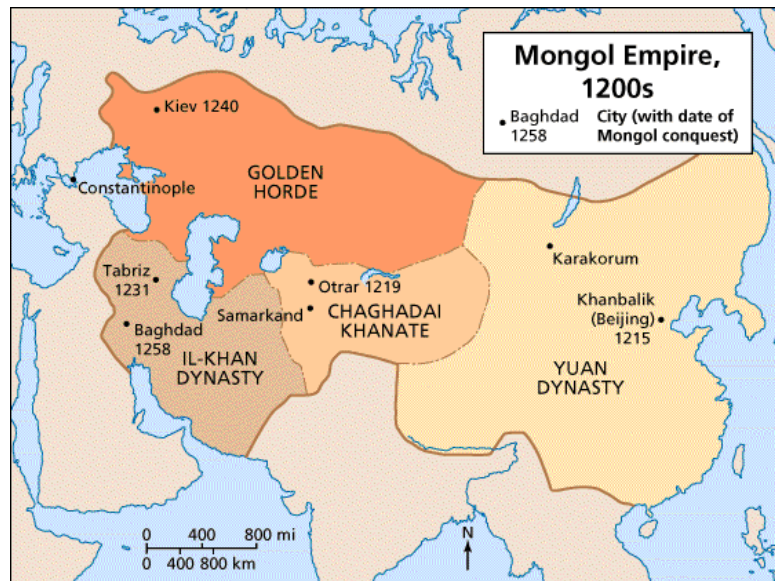


Figure 4.3 The Mongol Empire at its greatest extent, covering large parts of nowadays Russia.



Figure 4.4 Monument to Lev Gumilyov in the center of Kazan, Tatarstan. Gumilyov's Eurasian Ideas are popular in Central Asia. Photo: M. G. Kozirev

4.2.5 Russia becomes an empire

Michael I was the first czar of the dynasty of the Romanovs, which remained in power until the March revolution in 1917. The 17th century under Czar Michael and his successor Alexis was again a century of conquest for Russia, with a strong expansion eastwards into Siberia, but also continued warfare against the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. Due to internal struggles for power the commonwealth was increasingly weakened and Czarist Russia profited from this. Perhaps the most famous of the Romanovs, Peter I rose to power in the early 18th century. Peter I, also named the Great, again greatly expanded the borders of Russia in all directions, and is well known to be the first czar who travelled abroad and transformed Russia into a Western style state. Among his work is the planning and building of St. Petersburg at the mouth of the river Neva as “Russia’s window to the west”. Peter also officially declared Russia to be an empire, to indicate that he was a ruler over multiple peoples and established a European style absolute monarchy (Wortman, 2000). This however also led to more people living in serfdom, as a result of “rewarding” the Russian aristocracy for their loyalty to the czar, whereas at the same time in the rest of Europe serfdom declined (Curtis, 1996, p. 18). In the current Russian national narrative, the period of Peter I and that of his successor later during the 18th century, Czarina Ekaterina II, also called the Great, is seen by nationalists in Russia as a Golden Era, which is used as an inspiration for the current times. The reason for the veneration of these times is the immense territorial expansion of the Russian state in the 17th and 18th century. Siberia was brought under control of Russia, and in the 18th century a large territorial expansion took place in Eastern Europe, by defeating both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as the Ottoman Empire. In 1783, Crimea together with large parts of southern and eastern Ukraine were conquered and formed the so called Novorossiia (“New Russia”) (See figure 5.25 for a map) and even though this was a rather recent event in Russian history, in the rhetoric after the



Figure 4.6 Expansion of the Russian empire / Soviet Union

Source: www.mapinmap.ru

2014 accession of Crimea to Russia this was largely justified with historical arguments (See chapter 5.6.4 for more details on this). The old and almost forgotten concept of Novorossiia was also reintroduced in mainstream rhetoric in Russia in this time (Aron, 2014).

Zassoursky (2010, p. 132) mentions that the longing for another great period in Russian history is the likely reason why president Putin has a portrait of Peter the Great hanging on the wall of his office. Even though the 18th century was branded as Golden Age, it needs to be noted that the absolutist monarchy did have a number of shortcomings: in particular the bad position of the serfs and the waste of talent, which became more and more obvious and problematic during the 19th century. The waste of talent caused a slowing innovation and made the Russian Empire increasingly backward. All these troubles were leading towards the three Russian revolutions in the beginning of the 20th century (Fukuyama, 2011, 2014).

The beginning of the 19th century in Russia brings wars with France, during the Napoleonic Age and an invasion of Napoleon's Grande Armée. The Russians under Czar Alexander I, helped by the vastness of the empire and the severe Russian winter defeated Napoleon. This increased Russia's standing among the other European nations (Seton-Watson, 1967; Wortman, 2000). The 19th century is generally a century of relative decline for Russia, among other because of the still outdated feudal structure of the society in the vast rural areas of the empire which prevented entrepreneurship and innovation from transforming and modernizing most of the country (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012; Schumpeter, 1947). Industrialization did occur, but just on a relatively small scale mainly in large cities (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Riga, Poland, South Ural and the Dnjepr / Donbass region) and in several cases with foreign money. At the end of the 19th century Russia had about 1.4 million workers in industry, most of which in the textile industry (Curtis, 1996, p. 33).



Figure 4.7 A painting of the most famous symbol of the Crimean War (1853-1856), the charge of the light brigade of Lord Cardigan during the Battle of Balaclava. The lost Crimean War brought the necessity for societal reforms in Russia painfully to the surface.

Painting by Cecil Doughty

4.2.6 19th century reforms and the Russian revolution

The absolutist monarchy and the difficult socio-economic situation for the ordinary people led to discontent and more and more protest movements in society. Especially after the humiliating defeat in the Crimean War from 1853 - 1856, the call for social reforms to liberate or emancipate the serfs was felt (Curtis, 1996, p. 35). The emancipation of the serfs did not go as planned, and social unrest was one of the consequences, leading to the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. The period following this assassination brought a time of reactionary leaders and oppression of all kind of critical thinking. Russian state nationalism flourished during this time, putting Russia as the protector of real European values and save it from Western influences, and a notion of pan-Slavism was developed (Tuminez, 2000, p. 60). In this period non-Orthodox religions were oppressed, as well as the propagation of strong anti-Semitic sentiments. Notorious fabricated writings like the Protocols of Zion in which Jews

were accused of trying to get world domination were written in this period (Boym, 1999). Non-Russian minorities were put under Russification policies, which brought many of them in conflict with the Russian ethnic majority (Curtis, 1996, p. 36; Downey & Smith, 1996, p. 4). Russian rulers had a tradition of promoting themselves as mythical hero, who was fighting for interest of the ordinary people, however at the same time being quite distant and detached from them. Since Peter the Great, czars had tried to appear as European monarchs, but in this period, according to Wortman (2000, p. 3) the czars increasingly focused on being Russian, thereby deliberately creating a national myth of the ruler that came forth from within the people.

The lack of freedom and poor economic and military performance of the Russian state brought three revolutions at the beginning of the 20th century. The first one in 1905 occurred after the Russian – Japanese war. This war occurred because the Russian expansionist imperialist policies led to conflict with Japan, and even though the last Czar Nicholas II was confident he would crush those “little yellow monkeys”, he dramatically lost the war (Downey & Smith, 1996, pp. 6-8). Food shortages led to discontent and demonstrations in St. Petersburg. Many demonstrators carried icons of the czar and appealed to him for help as they saw him as their benevolent father (“Papa czar”), nonetheless the police fired on the demonstrators and many were killed. Even though the czar didn’t give the firing order, he was held responsible and suddenly lost his status as champion of the people and therewith lost much of his legitimacy and mythical status (Curtis, 1996; Downey & Smith, 1996; Wortman, 2000). Nicolas II was forced to accept the so-called October-manifesto, which limited the power of the czar. The consequence of this 1905 revolution was that on the one hand a constructive-critical political movement came into being who accepted the given situation and wanted to use the political and legal system to create a more representative government, the so-called Octobrists. On the other hand, there were growing numbers of people who rejected the October-manifesto and became non-compromising revolutionaries (among them for example the Bolsheviks), who tried to overthrow the system completely. And finally, the the so-called Black Hundreds were formed, a reactionary ethnocentric movement, firm supporters of the monarchy and rejecting all kind of nationalist / separatist movements (especially in what is now Ukraine) within the Russian Empire.

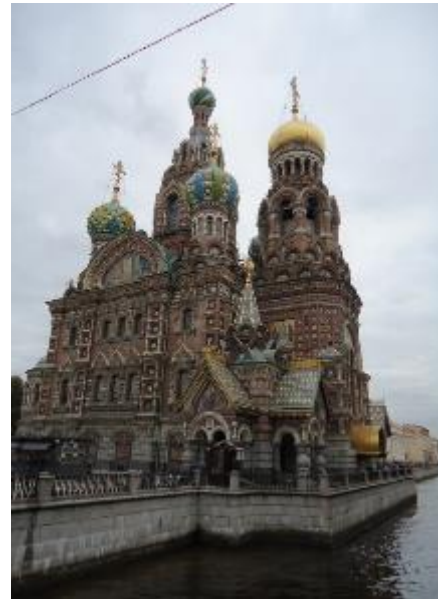


Figure 4.8 The St. Petersburg Church of our Saviour on the Blood, built on the spot where Czar Alexander II was murdered in 1881.

Source: own photograph

The result of the 1905 revolution was therefore that Russia entered the 20th century with a deeply divided political landscape of Western oriented politicians like the Octobrists as well as strongly nationalist Slavophiles like the Black Hundreds fighting each other continuously in the political arena and thereby paralyzing reform attempts, leading to a toxic explosive cocktail of distrust in politics in general, a cocktail that would violently explode a bit more than a decade after the 1905 revolution.

The Octobrists supported the czar with his alliance with France and Britain and so Russia became involved in the First World War in 1914. The Russian campaign was disastrous and heavy losses were sustained in the German and Austro-Hungarian invasions. Nicolas II believed (as he was advised by the notorious Rasputin) that his personal presence at the battlefield would change the tide, and left



*Figure 4.9 Vladimir I. Lenin giving a speech during the October revolution in 1917.
Source: Society for Cooperation in Russian and Soviet Studies (SCRSS)*

state affairs almost completely behind. The continuing dramatic Russian military performance combined with food shortages led to a second revolution in March 1917, which meant the abolition of the empire (Curtis, 1996). The Czar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate and a period of unrest followed, with a simultaneous provisional government and a soviet-government, until the so-called October revolution (which in fact was more of a coup-d'état of the soviet-government against the provisional government) later the same year. Immediately following this October revolution, a civil war started and lasted between 1917 and 1922 (seen by many as the second time of troubles), with finally a victory of the Bolshevik party. Among the many victories of the civil war was the Czarist family, which was cold-bloodedly murdered, and is even today mentioned by many as one of the dark pages of Russian history. The murder of the Czarist family, led to the canonization of the family in 2000 by the Russian Orthodox Church, because of their faith. Many critics however spoke about a political decision of the church, based on the desire of right wing factions to support the creation of a national symbol, perfectly usable for nationalist purposes (Garrard & Garrard, 2008; "Nicholas II and family canonized for 'passion'," 2000).

The result of the civil war was the establishment of Soviet Russia, or better said, the Soviet Union (USSR). Nationalism proved to be a difficult issue for the new Soviet government. Lenin was, like Marx and most other communists strongly opposed to nationalism, which he saw as a creation of the bourgeoisie in order to be able to effectively dominate the people (Lenin, 1914). The Soviet policy meant a sharp break with the policy of Russification from before 1917 and led to a period of emancipation of minorities and even affirmative action, in an attempt to defuse nationalism among minority nations under Lenin's successor Stalin (Martin, 2002, p. 156). Stalin was responsible for the issues related to the position of minority nations in the Soviet Union government in the first years after the revolution. Stalin's ideas on the subject revolved around the idea that national and cultural autonomy was just a form of bourgeois nationalism in socialist disguise and suggested to educate people in order to have a new unified socialist culture (Stalin, 2013).

The public narrative in this period after the revolution and further up to the 1960s was the desire to export the Communist Revolution to other oppressed peoples around the world and the promise to create a workers paradise in the future no matter what nationality they felt belonging to (See also Kern, 2010). Not surprisingly, because of these intentions, internationally the Soviet Union was seen as a dangerous entity, even as pariah (Kuromiya, 2007, p. 45; Petrasova, 2003), in particular by ruling classes of Central and Eastern European countries, because of fears of the Soviet Union inciting their citizens into a revolution (Seton-Watson, 1945, pp. 262-263). Several authors argue that the suppression of nationalism in the national Soviet narrative and failure of the promise to substantially improve economic conditions led to a counterreaction of nationalism among minority nations in the Soviet Union, leading to its ultimate collapse (see further section 4.2.7).

The establishment of the Soviet Union and its new economic and political system caused a lot of suffering for its citizens. In the first two decades of the Soviet Union, the rapid industrialization policy and the collectivization of the agricultural sector as well as the Stalin's vying for power led to famines with a massive death toll (Applebaum, 2007; Conquest, 2008, p. 20) as well as massive



Figure 4.10 Map of the different GULAG camps in the Soviet Union
Source: www.gulag.cz

deportations of people to different parts of the country. Especially the resulting GULAG-camp system (Acronym of Glavnoe Upravlenye Lagerei, literary “Main camp administration”) with its many forced laborers became the symbol for the suffering of Soviet victims (Applebaum, 2007; Kuromiya, 2007), and according to Goldman (2007, p. 11) it provided the context and background which led to probably the darkest page in modern Russian history, that of Stalin’s Great Terror period.

The Great Terror period was triggered in 1934 by the murder on one of the Soviet leaders Kirov. Stalin’s role in this murder is unclear, but there is consensus among historians that Stalin must have played a role in it (see for example Conquest, 2008, p. 39). The Great Terror period involved mass deportations to the GULAG and mass executions of (alleged) political adversaries of Stalin who were convicted in the so-called Moscow show trials. Besides politicians and intelligentsia, also ethnic minorities suffered heavily from the Great Terror. Martin (2002) argues that the previous affirmative action policy for minorities was abolished during the Great Terror period. Instead, people from minority nations suffered great numbers of casualties, on the basis of accusations that they would not been loyal to the state (Conquest, 2008; Kern, 2010; Kuromiya, 2007).

The Second World War brought a complete change in Stalin’s narrative about nationalism. In his previous work on the “Marxism and the national question” (1913) he propagated an inclusive approach involving elevation of the masses, based on the internationalist ideas of Bolshevism. During the Nazi German attack in 1941, he changed for a more nationalist narrative, as he understood that people would not fight and die for an international socialist idea. More about this can be found in the following section.



Figure 4.11 Soviet propaganda poster from the Second World War showing the Red Army and “heroic shadows from the past” (Alexander Nevsky, Kutuzov and the revolutionary soldier) all repelling foreign invasions, appealing to nationalist feelings of the Soviet citizens.

4.2.7 The Great Patriotic War and the rise of the USSR as a superpower

The Second World War / Great Patriotic War period brought along with the enormous sacrifices to the Soviet Union in terms of people and material a merger of Russian nationalism and Soviet ideology. As written in the previous section Stalin managed to rally the people behind nationalist rhetoric and turn the tide of the war. The national narrative of the government changed: It was not

the international communist revolution that was under threat, but instead the “Narodina” (Motherland). This outpouring of nationalism and patriotism was successful, Russians rallied, stopped retreating and counterattacked. This de-facto meant that during the war, there was an alliance with the Orthodox Church and its specific symbols of being Russian (Kern, 2010). Another indication of the extent of the nationalist ideas is that the term Second World War is not used in Russia, instead “Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna” (Great Patriotic War) is used to indicate this war. In the end, the Nazi German invaders were repelled and the Soviet Union under Stalin was the country that profited the most of all the allied countries, in long term strategic sense (Downey & Smith, 1996, p. 59; Kern, 2010). Suddenly the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union stretched from the river Elbe in the West to Vladivostok and Sakhalin in the east. Since the war, 9 May has been a day of remembrance, but since the rise to power of president Putin, this Victory Day has been pushed forward to become more and more important. Putin uses the victory over Nazi Germany as legitimization to propose a type of chauvinism, when he said “No force was ever, is ever and will ever be able to conquer Russia” during the 9 May parade of 2017 (O'Connor, 2017).



Figure 4.12 The 9 May Victory Day parade in 2015, commemorating the end of the war 70 years ago. Source: Kremlin.ru

The period after the Second World War the Soviet Union was a superpower. It led to conflict with the Western World, the so-called Cold War. Characteristic of this period is the developing Soviet nationalism, which is focused on heralding the great achievements of the Soviet Union, in particular in military and space technology. Meanwhile the Soviet people were told the narrative that development would come, as together they would build on a bright communist workers paradise which would come some time in the future. Even though in later years of the Soviet Union few people believed in this message, it still remained the dominant national narrative. There are many reasons the Soviet Union went into decline, one of which is because its planned economy, essentially a war economy, was not competitive enough and did not in the long term provide enough wealth for the people. But, according to the contemporary national narrative, it was at least a situation in which everyone was poor together, and there were not these cunning shady oligarch businessmen who control all spheres of business. The failure to deliver on the promise of building a “workers

paradise”, but instead an ever more corrupted and economically and socially stagnant system, caused a reaction in the form of nationalism within the separate Soviet Republics (Petrasova, 2003, p. 3; Strayer, 2016, p. 5; Verdery, 1996). The absence of state terror as it used to be in the period of Stalin, but instead the relative freedom because of the openness and reform movements under the last Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbatshev, meant that alternative ideas were no longer strongly repressed and the different nationalist narratives caused tensions between ethnic groups, leading to many nationalist inspired conflicts with many casualties (Curtis, 1996, p. 113). During the last years of the Soviet Union, the Russian Soviet Republic, found itself in a sort of state of confusion. As dominant ethnic group within the Soviet Union, the Russians had no institutions of their own targeting the specific interests of the Russian ethnic group, as “Russian” and “Soviet” identities were always deliberately tried to be tied as closely together as possible (Curtis, 1996, p. 115). Only when Russians themselves started to ask for specific rights and mobilized themselves, the Soviet system came crashing down, or better said, blown up from the inside. The country collapsed into 15 new independent republics, of which Russia and Ukraine were the 2 most populous ones. The breakup of the Soviet Union into national republics did not result in homogeneous nation-states (Arel, 1996), although they were (more or less) designed to be as such. In most of the new republics ethnic minorities were living, as borders have been drawn sometimes somewhat arbitrarily during Soviet times. In Ukraine for example live a large number of ethnic Russians, mainly in the cities in the south and east (Janmaat, 2000, p. 15). Likewise, within the territory of the Russian Federation live almost two million Ukrainians.



Figure 4.13 Boris Yeltsin reading a speech on a tank during the August 1991 communist coup, one of the events leading to the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Source: New York Times

4.2.8 The modern Russian Federation

Modern Russia went through a rough period of transition in the 1990s, leading to a large inequality in society and the appearance of a class of “new Russians”, oligarchs with a bizarre lifestyle

(Brainerd, 1998; Hoffmann & Gavrikov, 2014, p. 11). For most citizens of Russia the 1990s were a period of deprivation, high crime levels and a weak state ("I slept with a pump-action shotgun beside my bed," 2018; Walberg, McKee, Shkolnikov, Chenet, & Leon, 1998). The Russian population experienced a steep decline in life expectancy at birth, highly correlated to heavy alcohol consumption (Walberg et al., 1998). Especially hard hit were urban areas of so called mono-industrial towns, where the main factory had to close or layoff part of the workforce because of being non-competitive on the world market (Azarova et al., 2017). The Russian economic and social transition in the 1990s from planned economy to market economy went far from smooth. In Russia in most cases a so-called "shock therapy" was used while in other cases the transition was more gradual (Azarova et al., 2017; Earle, Estrin, & Leshchenko, 1996). Shock therapy stands for rapid mass privatisation and withdrawal of state support. Several studies have been done into the causes and effects of the privatisation rounds in the 1990s in Russia and from these studies the picture emerges of strong influence from foreign organizations like IMF and World Bank which pushed the Russian and other Central Eastern European governments to privatise as much and as fast as possible (Estrin & Stone, 1997; King, 2003). In the Russian context it turned out that most of the ownership remained inside the firm, at least on the short term. Management teams usually remained the same, which often led to suboptimal performance (Earle et al., 1996, p. 206). In contemporary nationalist narratives the 1990s are discussed as being the time of another "invasion" of Russia, albeit this time an economic one bound on destabilizing Russia (Archangelskiy, 2016).

In terms of government reforms, the 1990s are often seen as a (failed) experiment with democracy under the leadership of president Yeltsin, with a definitive move away from real democratic reforms during the violent troubles in October 1993 between the president and the parliament (McFaul, 1999). Others authors like Hahn (2018) argue that there was from the start no real attempt to introduce democracy in Russia in the 1990s, but there was instead a "Revolution from above", in which the old Soviet bureaucrats managed to bring the economy under their control. The second point of view would explain the arrival of Yeltsin's successor Vladimir Putin to the political scene.



Figure 4.14 Vladimir V. Putin at the inauguration ceremony of his 4th term as president on 7 May 2018 in the Kremlin. The picture is made from a low angle to mask Putin's short figure and make him look taller.

Source: Reuters

Putin, part of the Soviet nomenklatura was made prime minister in 1999 and elected president in 2000. After his arrival, a more stable situation seems to have been reached both in Russian politics and economy. It is interesting to note how Putin was presented from the beginning. He was presented as a special person, and parallels were drawn with the “Russian James Bond”, the spy “Standartenführer Von Stirlitz”, the fictional spy character who worked undercover in the Nazi high command (Zassoursky, 2010, pp. 129-130). Von Stirlitz is presented as a deeply patriotic person who is willing to sacrifice all his personal interests for the sake of the Motherland. Putin, who was a former KGB officer, also served in Germany (GDR), and used this image of Von Stirlitz as argument that he would be the best person to lead the country, doing a direct appeal on nationalist emotions. What we really know of Putin is actually quite little, as there is quite a lot of secrecy around his personal life (Gessen, 2012). Related to his political ideas and ideals, the picture is somewhat blurred, giving rise to many different interpretations. What can be said with a large degree of certainty, is that Putin is longing back to the period in which Russia was a military powerful nation, the time of the Russian empire and of the Soviet Union, meaning he can be classified as a nationalist (Bruk, 2016, p. 8). Putin expressed himself that in his opinion Russia was the “Soviet Union, but then with different borders”, and Russia should become more assertive in getting the role in the world that it deserves (read: a superpower with an equal status to the USA). According to Lovorn & Tsyrlina-Spady (2015), Putin actively influenced the education system, in order to ensure changes in the curriculum and guidelines, so that teaching patriotism would become the norm. Putin uses the term “Russkiy Mir” (Russian World), for the area that used to be part of the Soviet Union and still has considerable Russian minorities (Adomeit, 2018). An in-depth discussion about Putin’s specific world view, beliefs and actions falls outside the scope of this study, but a comprehensive description and analysis about Putin and the “Russkiy Mir” and the derivate modern concept of Novorossiia can be found in the articles of Aron (2014) and Shevtsova (2015).

It is suggested that Putin is wary of losing influence over Eastern European countries because of a fundamental Russian fear of the “wild steppe”, or otherwise said: the fear of being invaded from outside (Khodarkovsky, 2004, p. 2), and therefore wants to have buffer states, in which there is more or less openly support for Russian minorities (either historically existing or created by issuing passports) and political protection and military intervention on their behalf (Littlefield, 2009). When looking at the history of the Russian Empire and the behaviour of its rulers, the czars, it is possible to draw many parallels as well. Russian czars were detached from the people and were distant and unknown rulers. They deliberately created the image of “champion of the people”, who would help the ordinary citizens to find justice and a better life. Around Putin, the same myth creation can be observed (Kotkin, 2016; Meyers, 2015). One of the most obvious instances of this is the yearly “chat with the president”, in which ordinary people can complain about all kind of troubles which are then swiftly solved by the president (Chaudron, 2017). President Putin has high approval rates among Russians, as they see him as the one who restored order in Russia after the turbulent 1990s as well as being seen as the best bet as a leader that understands and can maintain the balance between powerful oligarchs in the country. At the same time, the actions of president Putin are seen by several (foreign) political commentators to be of Machiavellian style, with just staying in power (See for example Adomeit, 2018; Shevtsova, 2015).

The – for now – definitive confrontation between Putin’s Russia and the USA/EU came with the trouble in Ukraine in the winter of 2013/14 with the Maidan protests in Kiev, leading to the removal of the Ukrainian president Yanukovich from power. In order to protect – at least that is the justification behind it – the rights of the Russian people in Crimea, Putin ordered the Russian military forces that were stationed there to overtake the peninsula and organized a referendum for accession to the Russian Federation. The population of Crimea overwhelmingly voted for accession

of Crimea to Russia, but the USA and EU considered the referendum to be illegal and instituted economic sanctions, which were answered by sanctions from the Russian government. At the moment of writing, no solution has been found to alleviate the bad political relations between these countries, instead Podosenov (2014) observes a growing gap between Russia and the rest of the world, in particular Europe. He concludes based on several surveys that more and more people in Russia think negatively about European countries and vice versa as well. In order to deal with the negative economic consequences of the sanctions, the Russian government adopted a policy of import-substitution, in order to try to stimulate the troubled economy. There are several critics on the current progress/success of the import substitution policy. The main issues of criticism are that its goals are unrealistic and that at least at this moment the domestic Russian producers can by no means meet the same price-quality as their Western counterparts (KPRF, 2016; Yakunin, 2018). In general however, most authors agree that it is too early to tell the long terms results of this policy, although the sharp depreciation of the Rouble means that potentially there are more possibilities for export from Russia, however the weak institutions remain a problem for foreign investors (Manturov, Nikitin, & Osmakov, 2016; Prilepskiy, 2017).



Figure 4.15 Advertising billboard in Crimea for the March 2014 referendum on the accession of Crimea to Russia. It says “16 March we choose, fascism or Russia”.
Source: Reuters

According to Bogomolov, quoted by Dyulgerov (2018), the Russian government since 2012 supports more and more utterances in the media and film industry of what he calls “mythical patriotism”, aimed at celebrating great achievements – sometimes historical or sometimes invented – of Russia and/or the Soviet Union from the past, with a strategy of developing pride for the nation. Typical subjects being covered are the Second World War, space exploration and major sport victories. Dyulgerov warns for this kind of historical falsifications as being very harmful for society in the long run. Kuzovleva (2012) observes an increase of the support of patriotic ideals in Russian films by government agencies, and she concludes this is a good thing, something that she sees as necessary to keep the country together, strong and stable. Bruk (2016, p. 6) argues that this all of this seemingly newly developed patriotism from what he calls “the age of Putin”, is actually a copy of age-old techniques and can be directly linked to several 19th century nationalist Russian writers. And history is therefore sort of coming back full circle to the period of the end of the 19th century.

This completes this small overview of Russian history and the most important events which appear in the Russian national narrative. In the last decade, it appears as though there is an increasing attention for nationalist issues by the government but only time can tell what will happen in the long term. It could of course be that these policies are successful and will lead to a shared culture and increased feelings of national unity, or that these policies will increase tensions within Russia, maybe even up to the breaking point.

4.3 Russian nationalism in the context of Eastern Europe

One of the interesting questions to analyse is whether the situation related to nationalism in the Russian Federation is different from other Eastern European countries. As mentioned in the section about origins of nationalism, nationalism originated in Western and/or Central Europe and came only later to Eastern Europe (Dungaciu, 1999), one of the reasons that the idea of nationalism is different in East and West, with more attention for ethnicity in Eastern Europe (Pech, 1970; Tilly, 1991). However, as written before, the Russian Bolsheviks like Lenin and Stalin detested nationalism as something coming from the bourgeois elite trying to control their subjects, see for example the ideas of Stalin's (2013) work "Marxism and the national question". The Bolsheviks were not alone in this, communists from all around Europe had a more internationalist approach of improving the situation of the masses worldwide (See for example Gramsci, 1971).

After the Second World War, Soviet Russia had most parts of Central and (South) Eastern Europe in its sphere of influence and in the years following the war the policies of the Stalin government were aimed at repressing all kind of nationalist feelings, not just in the Soviet Union, but also in the new Central and Eastern European satellite states (Pech, 1970). However, as Lederer (1969) shows, many leaders in Eastern European countries were opportunists, using the new social order by changing their speech. After the death of Stalin, when they observed some more space and freedom, they immediately returned to a national rhetoric, since that would suit their position in power much better, as almost all countries in this part of the world had either several sizeable ethnic minorities within their borders, or had claims on "lost territories" because of wars (Verdery, 1996; Winters, 1972). In the Soviet Union meanwhile, the Russian ethnic group was so dominant that they were in a sort of comfortable position (Tilly, 1991) which was reinforced by the fact that the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 was something domestic. For other Eastern European countries, it was not. It was something imposed on them from abroad. Governments of Central Eastern European countries looked warily to the Soviet Union and even made propaganda against their internationalist and expansionist approach (Seton-Watson, 1945, pp. 262-263). All of these issues made fighting against ethnic nationalist ideas in their Central and Eastern European satellite states an insurmountable problem for the Soviet leadership. It also explains the different context of the Soviet Union (and in particular the Russians) and the other Central and Eastern European countries. It almost seems that the Russians as dominant ethnic group were surprised by so much ethnic mobilization (Hale, 2005; Strayer, 2016), at least according to Curtis (1996, pp. 112-113), Gorbatshev, an ethnic Russian from Russia, unlike previous Soviet leaders like Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, did not understand anything about the power of nationalism within the republics of the Soviet Union or how to deal with it.

As discussed in section 4.2.7, most authors agree that the breakup of the Soviet Union and the rapid breakup of the broader communist system was in the first place because of the failure of the economic system to provide enough resources for its population and to deliver on the promise of a communist workers' paradise, as well as the increasing corruption leading to a severe loss of legitimization of the government. The resulting counter-reaction of the minorities of the different Soviet Union republics, as well as from the Soviet satellite states was to put a lot of attention on

their own ethnicity, as it was a convenient way to legitimize a new direction for the economy (Verdery, 1998). The creation of an image of an evil “invading” outside Soviet power was very useful for the developing national narratives of the minority groups. In the case of the former Yugoslavia, which was not under Soviet control, a similar process worked in the breakup of the country, namely the domination of the Serbian ethnic group in Yugoslavia, providing ample ground for ethnic minorities to demand self-determination (Hobsbawm, 1990; Verdery, 1996). The result was in some Central and Eastern European countries a so called “constitutional nationalism” in which the dominant ethnic group received certain privileges over the others (Hayden, 1992). Especially land has a central place in the policies of several countries, since inflation in most new countries rose to high levels in the 1990s. Landholding was seen as key for having a secure pension and as insurance policy, therefore both access to and restitution of land played a main role in de-collectivization of former state lands, although different countries used different models (De Janvry, Sadoulet, & Wolford, 2001, p. 15; Verdery, 1996). To name a couple of countries as example: Lithuania, Latvia and Hungary only allowed national passport holders to buy and sell agricultural land, whereas for example in Poland buying agricultural land by foreigners was only allowed with special permission from the government (Verdery, 1998). Ukraine went as far as to put in place a complete moratorium on land sales (Segura & Ustenko, 2016). In several Eastern European cases, the land was strongly connected to the national narrative of the state, Verdery (1998) gives the example of Transsilvania and the Caucasus, where the land is connected to the burial grounds of the ancestors, “which makes the land fertile for crops” and an inalienable possession of the people. In areas in Central and Eastern Europe where the population was mixed, because of their attachment to land as well as claims on land of each ethnic group, the privatization of the previous collectively owned land was very difficult, especially in Yugoslavia and the Caucasus where borders have shifted and there was a succession inhabitation from different ethnic groups leading to (sometimes) violent armed conflicts. When comparing Serbia the “dominant” nation of Former Yugoslavia, with Russia, the relations of Serbia and its neighbours were generally more violent than the relations between Russia and its neighbours (Cornell, 1998; Paul & De Pater, 2010, p. 73).

The Russian Federation as successor state to the Soviet Union meanwhile, also developed a national narrative during the 1990s. As written in the previous sections, it went back to the Russian Empire and even before that to the Kievan Rus state. However, the new Russian Federation was in terms of territory not equal to the Russian Empire, considerably smaller in fact. Therefore, to avoid territorial claims on the new independent republics and the tensions that this would bring, safer symbols had to be selected, those that not just the Russian ethnic group could exclusively identify with, but also the more than 160 national ethnic minorities. Since ethnicity as unifying factor for the people was not available, the unifying factor became the state (see also chapter 3, the discussion on state nationalism). Focus on the state has led to the development of religious symbols and myths to support this process. The canonization of the Czarist family was one of such symbols (See section 4.2.6) as well as the attention for the victory in the Second World War. Especially this last one seems to be a powerful tool for uniting the country. In his study Hedrick Smith (1976) observed that the Second World War period was seen as a unique period in Russian history, full of unity and a common goal as well as real sacrifice for the motherland. This issue has been taken up by the government of the Russian Federation and throughout the years, the victory in the Second World War seems to develop more and more into a sort of “national foundation myth” as meant by Hobsbawm (1990) and Miller (1995), one based on virtue and self-sacrifice (Weiner, 1996).

When looking at the way how is being thought about the state, several nationalist Russian writers go so far as to state that criticism on the state and/or its policies is a severe and dangerous attack on the stability in society. See for example Starikov (2012) or the “education” speech of Gref (Politika

365, 2018). Extremists like the Orthodox archpriest Chaplin consider the state as so sacred that he suggests to kill all Russian emigrants, since they are traitors (Obukhov, 2017). The well-known politician Zhirinovskiy has an apocalyptical worldview consisting of a fusion of nationalism and religion, a sort of “holy state” which would fulfil prophecies from the Bible (Zhirinovskiy, 2008). Others like Dugin (2012) propose a strong Russian state (in principle at all costs), which means having a strong army and strong international influence as prerequisite for stability and development for the long term. Ethnicity is not really an issue in writings of Russian nationalists, but religion is. There is a strong tendency to unite the Orthodox religion with the Russian state. This is something interesting and different from most utterances of nationalism in other Central and Eastern European countries, where ethnicity seems to be more important than religion (Dungaciu, 1999; Tilly, 1991). Writers from 19th century Russia, when Russia was a multi-national empire with a strong state, seem to inspire current day nationalists in Russia (Williams, 1994). The Bolshevik 1917 revolution was a clear break in nationalist traditions (see chapter 4.2.6), but according to Curtis (1996, pp. 113-114) there was still nationalism in the Soviet Union, but sort of in disguise: namely to attempt to unify Russian national identity with Soviet national identity. It is plausible to assume that the Russian Federation therefore “inherited” an inclusive style of nationalism that would use symbols that were acceptable and recognizable for all ethnic minorities within its borders. For the dominant Russian ethnic group within Russia this might be an acceptable outcome, but the question is if that opinion is shared by Russia’s many ethnic minority groups. In the following section the largest ethnic groups are described, including a brief description of their national narratives.

4.4 Russian ethnic minorities and their national narratives

4.4.1 Ethnic minorities in Russia and their republics

The Russian Federation is a multi-ethnic country, but with a dominant ethnic group, the Russians. Around 77% of the citizens, that means passport holders, of the Russian Federation selected Russian as their nationality in the 2010 Census (Federal State Statistics Service of Russia, 2010), as is already written in the introduction chapter. The largest ethnic groups with more than a million citizens are in order of size: Tatars, Ukrainians, Bashkir, Chuvash, Chechens and Armenians. These last two groups can be found predominantly in the Northern Caucasus Federal District, an area which is ethnically highly diverse. Of course there are many more ethnic groups in Russia than these, the Federal Russian census (2010) provides a lot of information about the different ethnic groups and the regions in which they live, but an in-depth discussion about all ethnic minorities falls outside the scope of this study.

Table 4.1: Size of ethnic groups in Russia according to the Russian Federal Census of 2010

Nationality	Population size	Percentage of the total population
Russian	111 016 896	76.5%
Tatars	5 310 649	3.7%
Ukrainians	1 927 888	1.3%
Bashkirs	1 584 554	1.1%
Chuvash	1 435 872	1.0%
Chechens	1 431 360	0.9%
Armenians	1 182 388	0.8%
Others	21 277 124	14.7%
Total	145 166 731	100.0%

Source (Federal State Statistics Service of Russia, 2010)

The Russian Federation consists of 85 federal subjects, consisting of 60 oblasts/krais (provinces), 3 federal city districts (Moscow, St. Petersburg and Sevastopol) and 22 so-called national republics, homelands of a certain ethnic minority that have a considerable autonomy within the country. In general there are four clusters of ethnic republics, most of them in the periphery of the country (Hagendoorn, Poppe, & Minescu, 2008), the North Caucasus Federal district, the Volga-Ural region, Komi-Karelia region and Eastern Siberia/Far East. National republics have their own government and president. Even though all national republics have one or two titular minorities, they are almost always ethnically heterogeneous, with the national titular minority of the republic consisting of less than half the total population. The ethnic mixture is not in the last place because of the earlier mentioned 19th century Russification, in which key positions in society were held by Russians (Curtis, 1996, p. 37) and later during the period of the Soviet Union, in which ethnicity was seen as less relevant and specialists from all over the country (mainly with Russian ethnicity) moved into most republics to help with economic development (Martin, 2002). Borders between national republics also didn't completely fit with the place where those ethnic groups lived, a situation that according to Hirsch (2000) was deliberately created with "divide and rule" in mind. This situation limits the strength of separatist movements in several republics, although these movements clearly exist (Stepanov, 2000). In all national republics, the Russian population is less likely to support separatist movements than the people with the titular nationality of the national republic (Hagendoorn et al., 2008; Hale, 2000). Hale (2005) identifies several reasons why the Russian Federation has been more or less stable, with Chechnya being the "exception instead of the norm". Hagendoorn et al. (2008) additionally suggest that separatism of national republics within the Russian Federation is kept at bay because of greater dependency on federal level subsidies than was the case with the former Soviet republics, as well as most of the national republics being land-locked enclaves within the



Figure 4.16 Map of the geographical distribution of ethnic groups and republics in Russia

Source: <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/reassessing-russian-identity-part-1-introduction>

territory of the Russian Federation, making it less attractive to become independent. Hale (2000) found evidence that the richest and regionally most developed national republics in Russia have the strongest separatist movements. This is contradictory to the mainstream theory in which economically less developed regions become frustrated with the core of the country and develop a desire to become independent (see for example: Gellner, 1983) . Stepanov (2000) finds in his study that the combination of cultural differences and economic problems cause the strongest separatist movements in national republics. Whereas this reasoning is certainly valid for a national republic like Chechnya, it cannot explain cultural revivals and separatist movements in the wealthiest national republics Bashkortostan and Tatarstan.

4.4.2 Tatars

In this section, the largest ethnic groups and their homeland republics are discussed, starting with Russia's largest ethnic minority and second largest ethnic group, the Tatars. They consist of around 5.3 million people, who live predominantly in the Tatarstan Republic. According to the 2010 census 53% of the total population of this republic are Tatars, compared to 39% Russians, making these second ethnic group. The percentage of the people that identify themselves as being Tatar is rising over the last 40 years, from 47% in the 1979 census to 53% in 2010. The percentage of Russians is falling during the same time period from 44% to 38%. Tatars are a Turkic people with a Turkic language, which is next to Russian the national language of the republic. Tatars are among the highest educated minorities in Russia and Tatarstan is economically not very dependent on federal level money transfers as it is one of the economically most developed regions of Russia (Gorenburg, 1999; Government of Tatarstan, 2017), and according to Hale (2000) they therefore have a rather strong feeling of independence. There was a rather strong lobby in the 1980s to change the status of Tatarstan into a socialist republic and to detach it from the Russian socialist republic, which if it would have happened, would have automatically granted full independence for Tatarstan during the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Kondrashov, 2000). Several attempts for increasing levels of autonomy in the 1990s led to bilateral treaties of Tatarstan with the federal government (Stepanov, 2000), related to the position of the Tatar language and money transfers to the Federal government, which seem to work out in the sense that they limit the degree and urgency of separatist

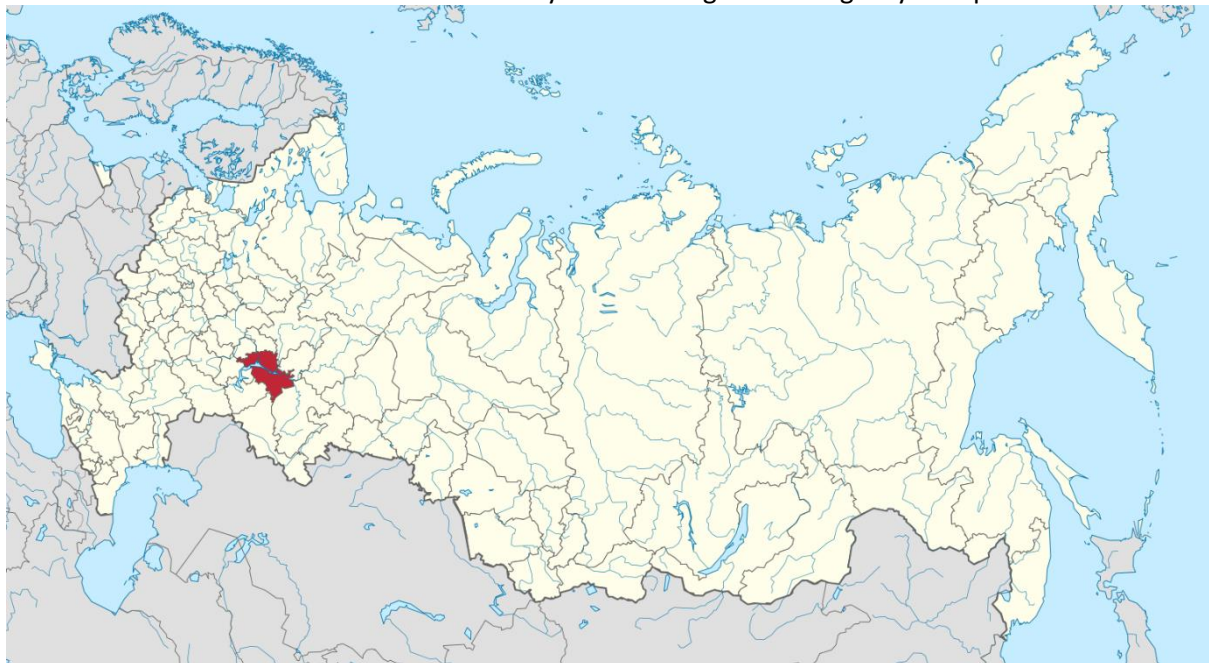


Figure 4.17 Location of Tatarstan in Russia.

Source: Wikimaps

movements within the republic. A similar approach to dampening separatist movements is described by Paul (2015, p. 319) in South Tirol, where the German speaking minority was offered similar concessions, which indeed led to a decrease of separatist/irredentist support. An opposite example is about the actions of the federal Spanish government against the separatist movement in Catalonia, where the repressive actions seem, at least in the short term, to have led to a strong increase of separatist support (Tobeña, 2018).

The Tatars originate from the invading Bulgar tribes in the early middle ages (7th – 8th centuries), but unlike the Chuvash, another branch of invading Bulgar tribes, who became Christians, the Tatars adopted Islam in the 10th century. The Tatar national narrative (see also section 4.2.2) is that they are the successors of the Golden Horde and the Kazan khanate, which should be viewed as a very positive force in history and Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror brought reforms to the Russians instead of a “Mongol yoke” (Alexandrova, 2013; Gumilev, 1989). According to Gorenburg (1999), the existing ethnic revival and mobilization movements in Tatarstan (and also in several other national republics) can be explained by the desire of the elite of the republic to strengthen their own power, however they operate very cautious not to alienate the Russian minority.

4.4.3 Ukrainians

The third largest ethnic group according to the 2010 census are the Ukrainians. They don’t have a national republic in the Russian Federation, because Ukraine is one of the former Soviet republics and became independent in 1991. The Ukrainian Soviet republic served the function of a national republic in the times of the Soviet Union. There are many Ukrainians living on the territory of the Russian Federation however, but they are spread out over the country and don’t make up the majority of the population in any of the Russian regions. As was already mentioned in the first section of this chapter, some Russian nationalists see Ukraine as a part of the undividable Russian empire, and see Ukrainians as a part of the Russian people (Von Hagen, 1995). On the other hand, in comparative research in other parts of Eastern Europe, the situation of ethnic minorities in countries bordering the homeland of that minority is more often than not unfavourable (McIntosh, Abele Mac Iver, Abele, & Nolle, 1995), but in general little tensions between the Ukrainian minority in Russia

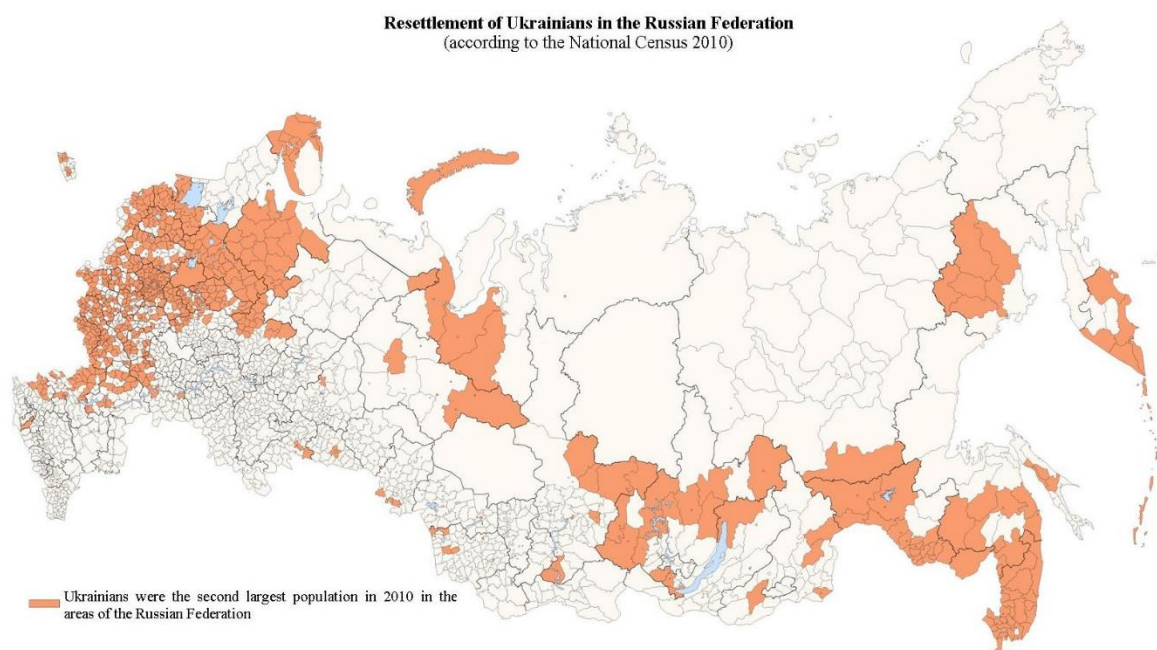


Figure 4.18 Dispersion of Ukrainians in the Russian Federation. Orange areas indicate regions where Ukrainians are the second largest ethnic group. Source: Russian Federal Census 2010, map created by Oleg Zima.

and the Russian majority have been found, among others because many Russians downplay the importance of the cultural differences between them and Ukrainians (Ahmed, Feliciano, & Emigh, 2006). It is difficult to assess if this situation is changing, but several news sources suggest that since the Russian-Ukrainian conflict (which started in 2014), the position of the Ukrainian minority may be under pressure (See for example: Bateson, 2014). There are however no reports of widespread hatred or violence against the Ukrainian minority in Russia. The Ukrainian identity is based on the idea that the area around Kievan Rus developed their own specific cultural and national identity before the invasion of the Mongols, instead of being “little Russians”, who happen to live on the borderlands of the All-Russian Empire (Von Hagen, 1995). Ukrainian national identity developed in the course of the 19th century, among others by writers like Taras Chevchenko, who were strongly oppressed by the state nationalism of the Russian empire (Curtis, 1996).

4.4.4 Bashkir

The fourth largest ethnic group are the Bashkir, who just like the Tatars have a language with Turkic origins. The majority of the Bashkir live in the republic Bashkortostan in the area of the Ural Mountains, next to the republic of Tatarstan. The Bashkir see themselves as the original inhabitants of the land, dating back to Palaeolithic times and have a national narrative that focuses on the continuous inhabitation of the land. Their location in the Ural mountains might have protected them from Bulgar invasions in the early middle ages (Stepanov, 2000).

In the 13th century the Bashkir, under influence of the Mongol Golden Horde adopted Islam as their religion (Gumilev, 1989) and this is still the dominant religion today. The Bashkir make up just around 30% of the republics population, whereas the Russians count for 35% and Tatars make up around 25% of the population. Bashkortostan is in terms of GDP per capita one of the wealthiest national republics of Russia, because of favourable natural conditions, including natural resources, climate, fertile soils and a strong industrial base (Stepanov, 2000). Approximately 20% of the people with Bashkir ethnicity reportedly speak Tatar instead of Bashkir, so that Bashkir speaking Bashkir nationals are only a small minority within the republic (Gorenburg, 1999). Even though the Bashkir have a similar socio-economic situation like the before mentioned Tatars, and have rather strong



Figure 4.19 Location of Bashkortostan in Russia.
Source: Wikimaps

feelings of separatism, the fact that they are just a minority within the republic dampens the political consequences (Hagendoorn et al., 2008). Hale (2000) explains the separatist feelings among Bashkirs in the same way as in Tatarstan, as consequence of wealth instead of poverty.

4.4.5 Chuvash

The fifth largest ethnic group are the Chuvash, who predominantly live in the Chuvashia republic, just like the Tatars and Bashkir they have a language with Turkic origins. Their national narrative is that they originate from the Bulgars, a Turkish tribe which invaded the steppes in the early Middle Ages, and part of them settled in Chuvashia and another part moved further and settled in what is now Bulgaria. The Chuvash make up 68% of the Chuvashia republic, compared to around 30% Russians. The Chuvash are predominantly a Christian nation, in contrast to Tatars and Bashkirs which are predominantly Muslim. Chuvashia is a national republic with a weak economic development, it is a predominantly agricultural republic, because of the fertile soils in the region. Chuvashia is rather dependent on federal level money transfers (Gorenburg, 1999). Hale (2000) and Hagendoorn et al. (2008) found evidence that separatism among Chuvash is rather low. They argue this is because of receiving large amounts of support from the federal government in Moscow to prop up the economy.



Figure 4.20 Location of Chuvashia in Russia.

Source: Wikimaps

4.4.6 Chechen

The sixth largest ethnic group are the Chechen, who have their own autonomous Chechen Republic in the Northern Caucasus Federal District, in the southern part of Russia. The Chechen republic is almost ethnically homogeneous. 95% of the population identifies themselves as Chechen. Russians consists of only 3% of the population. In the 1979 census the Russians still made up about 30% of the population. The cause of the now almost homogeneous population are the two devastating Chechen wars for independence (in 1995 and 1999), caused by a violent mixture of nationalism and religion which caused many ethnic Russians to leave the republic. The wars were characterized by severe violence from both sides of the conflict (Babchenko, 2007). The first Chechen war ended with the de-facto independence of Chechenia, although this Chechen state was a prime example of a failed state with high corruption and lawlessness, in which kidnapping was the main source of getting income

(Zabyelina, 2013). The second Chechen war started when Chechen insurgents attacked the neighbouring republic of Dagestan. Chechen terrorists also supposedly did several bomb attacks in Moscow and after the war there were several tragic hostage situations in a Moscow theatre and in a school in Beslan in the neighbouring republic of North Ossetia. The current Chechen government is accused of severe violations of human rights and high levels of corruption in order to “buy peace” (Russell, 2005; Zabyelina, 2013), a situation which exists in other North Caucasus republics as well (Vendina, Belozarov, & Gustafson, 2007; Yemelianova, 2005).



Figure 4.21 Location of the Chechen republic in Russia.
Source: Wikimaps

The Chechens originate from the Nakh people, which likely originated from Mesopotamia, although there are large controversies about this issue, as written sources about their history are scarce. In any case, the Chechens have a violent history, resonating in its national narrative, in which freedom and independence takes a central place (Gorenburg, 1999). The Chechens were able to resist occupation of the invading Mongols for quite a while, although at the cost of the almost utter destruction of the nation, something that comes back strongly in the Chechen national narrative. The war with the Mongol invaders was fought mainly with guerrilla tactics, used by the at that time developing clan structure in the republic. Clans provided safety for the ordinary citizens. During the Mongol occupation Chechens adopted Islam. Later on the Chechen mountain people continued to struggle against Russian dominance of the Caucasus in the 18th and 19th century (Stepanov, 2000). Even though it seems that for the moment the situation in Chechnia is more or less under control, there is still quite a strong separatist movement active. In the mountains some insurgents who claim to be part of the “Islamic State province of the Caucasus” are active (Sokirianskaia, 2016).

4.4.7 Armenians

The seventh largest group and the last one with over 1 million citizens in Russia are the Armenians. Just like the Ukrainians they don’t have their own ethnic republic, because the Armenian republic that was part of the Soviet Union got its independence in 1991. The Armenians live in many different parts of the Russian Federation, but in no Russian province the Armenians make up a majority of the population. They are concentrated in the south of Russia and arrived there mainly from the 18th

century onwards (Ember, Ember, & Skoggard, 2005). Armenians came to be known as clever traders who also were among the first to embrace capitalism in the 19th century. Because of many of them being commercially active, Armenian communities sprang up in all Russia's major cities, especially in Moscow where over 500 000 Armenians live (Zenian, 2002). Even today, as can be seen from the census, sizeable Armenian communities can be found in many provinces. Relations between Armenia and Russia are strong, with Armenia being one of the members of the Eurasian Union. Ethnic tensions between Russians and Armenians seem to be, except some unfortunate incidents, to be largely absent (Dzutsati, 2015).

5 Nation building in the Russian Education system

Whoever does not miss the Soviet Union has no heart.

Whoever wants it back has no brain.

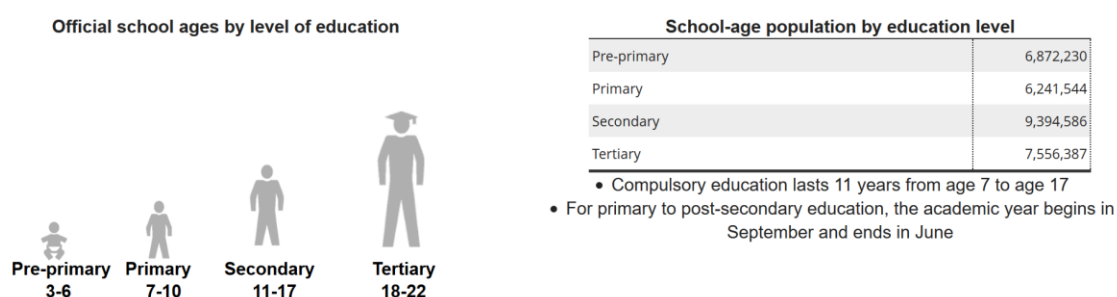
Vladimir Putin

5.1 Introduction

In this section the Russian education system is explained as well as the place of geography in the compulsory curriculum. This study focusses on the secondary school years, but in order to get a full understanding of the education system, it is helpful to have a bit broader look first and then to zoom in on the secondary school education.

5.2 Characteristics of the Russian education system

The Russian education system consists of three blocks, as in most other countries in Europe: Primary, Secondary and Tertiary education. Primary and secondary education are obligatory, and participation in tertiary education is stimulated, by facilitating students to get into university by



School ages and population in the Russian Federation in 2015. Source: UNESCO Statistics services, 2016

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Pre-primary education									
Primary education									
Secondary education									
Primary to secondary transition rate (%)									
Total	100	...	...	100	100	99.82	99.92	...	...
Female	...	...	...	...	...	99.63	99.83	...	...
Male	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	...	...
Enrolment in technical and vocational education and training (TVET) as % of the total enrolment in secondary education									
Total	46.98	48.5	...	51.8	51.32	52.08	52.55	53.54	54.4
Female	37.08	38.72	...	42.23	41.9	43.38	43.77	45.03	46.11
Male	55.61	57.02	...	60.17	59.58	59.77	60.13	60.88	61.61
Number of pupils per teacher									
Pupil/teacher ratio	8.53	8.47	...	...	8.76	...	...	...	...
Tertiary education									
Gross graduation ratio. ISCED 6 and 7. First degrees (%)									
Total	51.73	51.21	...	58.32	61.52	...	...	65.54	...
Female	...	...	...	...	76.28	...	...	78.94	...
Male	...	...	...	...	47.31	...	...	52.86	...

Figure 5.1 Some key-statistics of the Russian Secondary education. Source: UNESCO Statistics services, 2016

offering several study paths which suit the needs of the student. University enrolment can be directly after finishing the unified state exam at the secondary school, or after finishing the unified state exam during or after enrolment into vocational education. A third option is to finish a technical

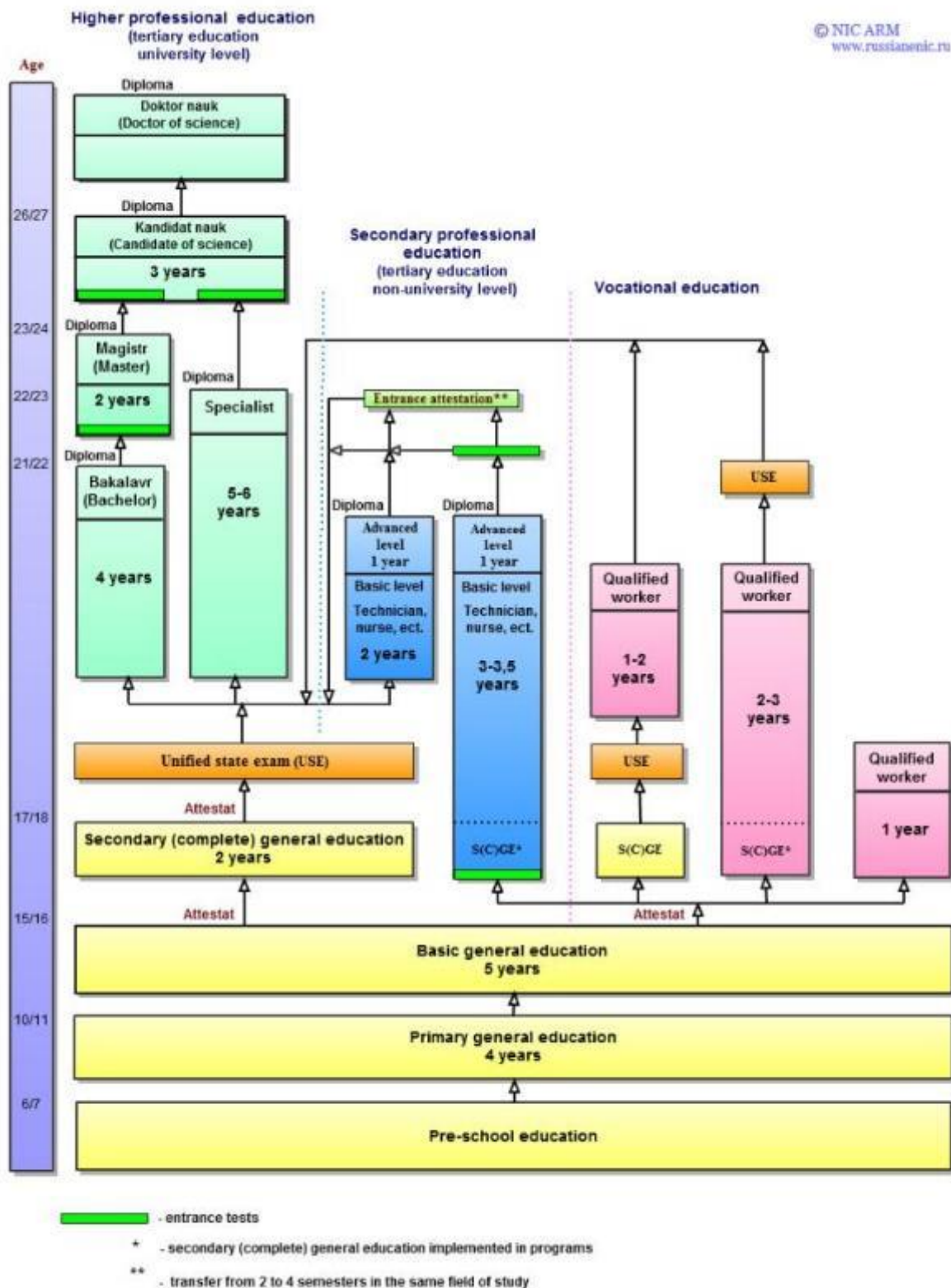


Figure 5.2 Structure of the Russian education system. Source: National information centre for academic recognition and mobility (russianenic.ru)

college (a type of university of applied sciences) and to get enrolled into a university after that. Via this route, passing a unified state exam is not necessary, instead, universities can issue an entrance exam for these students. Even though compulsory education in Russia is from the ages of 6 to 17, it is common to send children to pre-school education. Enrolment in pre-school education is around 86% in 2015 with a growing trend over the last ten years (UNESCO, 2016). Children from two or three years old can participate in this type of education, depending on the preschool itself. Primary school starts at 6 years of age and lasts until children are 11 years old and consists of 4 forms. Children then go to secondary school, and all have the same general secondary education for 5 years. When they reach the age of 15, children will receive a certificate (called "Atestat" in Russian), which allows them either into the higher levels of secondary school (in case of high enough grades), to prepare them for the unified state exam and university, or they will be admitted to technical college or vocational education. The Unified State Exam is a relatively new part of the Russian education system, it is introduced in 2009 in order to make the connection between secondary and tertiary education more smooth (Fedorov, 2015). When analysing the educational statistics for the Russian Federation, in 2015, 53% of the children continue their studies in vocational education or technical college. This appears to be a rising trend, in 2007 about 46% of the children continued their education in vocational or technical colleges (UNESCO, 2016). Interesting to observe is the large difference between male and female attendance of vocational and technical education. 60% of males are enrolled in this type of education, whereas at females, this is just 45%. Also when looking at the graduation rate of bachelor level university studies, there is a large gap between males and females. In other words, males are less likely to go to university (at least not via the direct route of the higher classes of secondary school) and they are also much more likely than females to drop out from university. Graduation rate among females in bachelor education levels is 76%, while male graduation rate is just 47%. An explanation for these differences is difficult to find. It may be the case that men are expected to earn money for the family (Russians marry rather young on average) and therefore choose to drop-out from their study program and start working. It is also possible that conscription in the army is one of the factors influencing the high dropout rate. It might be that students returning from army duties do not feel comfortable in the school benches again, although research based evidence on this matter was not found.

5.3 Effectiveness of the Russian education system

In order to investigate the effectiveness of the Russian education system, it is possible to look at the so-called PISA studies, a method developed by the OECD, to internationally compare the effectiveness of education systems. The PISA studies are done every three years and the last available PISA results are those of 2015 (OECD, 2015). The PISA methodology consists of testing 15 year olds on three main subjects: Science, Reading and Mathematics. The average scores of the students of the Russian Federation are around the OECD average, however there are quite strong regional differences (Karlin, 2012). The Moscow federal district gets very high scores, comparable to the highest scoring countries, but more remote peripheral regions (especially the Russian Far East and the Northern Caucasus) get quite low scores, comparable with developing countries. Explanations for these differences in scores can be because of the strong urbanization process towards the largest cities in Russia, in which higher educated people leave peripheral regions, contributing to the process of brain drain. Alternatively, it could also mean that educational resources are concentrated to the large cities and relatively little is left for the more remote peripheral rural regions, thereby negatively influencing the quality of the education in these regions (see for example Golubitskiy, 2017 for a graphical representation of this effect). In general Amini & Commander (2011) note that when looking at the level of income of the Russian Federation, the Russian PISA scores are higher than for countries with similar income levels. The authors of several

studies do note however that although PISA is the most common tool to compare education systems, it has the problem that it measures education by focusing on specific items. Changing the curricula makes it possible to train students specifically for better test results. There is some evidence that certain governments are indeed pursuing such goals (Carnoy, Khavenson, & Ivanova, 2015). Alexander (2005) suggests that the Russian education system is using a different style of pedagogy than in Western Europe, as there is a stronger belief than in Western Europe in “social engineering” of children, and he argues that this could be one of the reasons why the results of the education system are rather good.

5.4 From Soviet Union to Russia: Development of the Russian education system

The Soviet education system differed from the current education system in Russia, both in structure as well as in curriculum. After a rapid start of education reforms after Russia’s independence, consisting of issues like decentralization, de-ideologization, democratization, diversification, humanization, and “humanitization” (increasing the amount of humanitarian subjects in the school curriculum) (Tsyrlina-Spady, 2016), according to Nikandrov (1995) and Zajda (2003), the reforms got stalled and have been only partially implemented. This causes problems of inefficiency of the education system, along with a general strategic drift about the goals of the education system. Nikandrov’s article is written in a period of strong changes in Russia, but more recent studies, like the one from Amini & Commander (2011) still draw similar conclusions. The advice report for the Russian ministry of Education and Sciences under the redaction of Kozlov (2011) about basic educational values state that the education should provide the following basic national values in order to prepare children for the future, namely values related to personal culture; values related to family culture and values related to social culture.

Kozlov et al. describe these values in detail, in the following quote some of these values relevant to the theme of the study are mentioned:

- *The willingness and ability to moral self-awareness, self-esteem, understanding of the meaning of their lives, individually responsible behaviour. (...)*
- *Awareness of the absolute value of the family as a fundamental principle of our belonging to the people, our fatherland;*
- *Understanding and support of the moral foundations of family, love, mutual assistance, respect for parents (...)*
- *Awareness of himself as a citizen of Russia on the basis of the adopted common mentality of national spiritual and moral values;*
- *Belief in Russia, in a sense of personal responsibility for the fatherland to future generations;*
- *Adequate perception of the values of society: human rights prevail, the rule of law, family values, honesty courts to authorities and responsibilities of civil society;*
- *Willingness to counter global challenges of the modern era together;*
- *Development of patriotic feelings and obtain feelings of civic solidarity; (...)*
- *Care for the prosperity of a single multinational Russian people, maintaining inter-ethnic peace and harmony (Kozlov, 2011, pp. 9-10).*

The Russian Federal government published the newest set of educational guidelines in 2012, among others based on the before mentioned Kozlov report, which were, according to Tsyrlina-Spady (2016), “bitterly contested” by teachers and other educational professionals, who feared that the implementation of the new set of education goals would produce generations of young people who would be “strong enough to defend their homeland, but unable to analyse and understand the rest of the world” (Sadovnichy, 2011). The previous round of educational changes was opposed in a similar way, as being too patriotic (Starink, 2008, p. 211). Tsyrlina-Spady (2016) remarks in her report

on the challenges of the Russian curriculum reforms, that there was a strong public debate among teachers and the general public (RBK, 2011), and to a certain extent the protests did lead to some changes in the proposals for curriculum reform, improving the position of Russian literature and mathematics. Still, Tsyrlina-Spady (2016) remarks that it is questionable in how far in principle there was and will be an open debate and influence with decision makers on proposed educational guidelines, given the tradition of Russia as a strongly centralized hierarchical country. The educational system is working in a top-down way, which influences the effectiveness of the debate on any educational reform.

Besides the complaints about the educational guidelines themselves, another often debated issue is the shortage of allocated budgets for education and necessary supporting issues like the maintenance of schools, among others caused by previous incomplete reforms. Roughly a third of the Russian schools are in need of repairs and more than half the schools don't have a proper connection to the sewer system (Habibov & Cheung, 2016). In order to understand these problems better, it is good to look at government spending on education as percentage of the GDP throughout the last decades. It is difficult to compare the Soviet Union with the Russian Federation, since the Soviet Union did not use GDP in its statistics. Davis et al. (1980) developed a methodology to estimate government spending based on several other available statistics. Even if the estimations may not be completely accurate, table 5.1 clearly shows that during the Soviet Union times, relatively more money was spent on education than today. This means that there is some evidence for the claims about the structural underfunding of schools in Russia, as written earlier.

Table 5.1: Government spending on education (primary to tertiary) as percentage of GDP (Soviet Union estimations)

Country	1970	1980	1985	2000	2008	2012
Soviet Union / Russia	6.8	7.3	7.0	2.9	4.1	4.1
Countries with very high Human Development Index (average)	.	5.2	5.0	4.5	5.1	4.5

Source: (Davis & Feshbach, 1980), World Bank (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/expenditure-education-public-gdp>)

Teacher / student ratios in Russia nowadays are relatively low for secondary schools as compared with the average ratios in developed countries (UNESCO, 2016), but the downside is that teacher salaries are also low, a situation which could (and did) lead to so-called education corruption, to pay for a "pass" grade (Habibov & Cheung, 2016; Heyneman, 2004). Around 47% of the parents in Russia report to be ready to unofficially pay money to get their child accepted in a better school (OECD, 2004, p. 38). The biggest long-term problem of an education system in which extra unofficial payments play an important role is that children when being confronted with such practices lose their motivation to study, but instead develop a cynical worldview that everything can be bought with money (Habibov & Cheung, 2016). Lubimov (2013) argues that this current situation in the Russian education system causes actually a decline in patriotism and civic consciousness among Russians, as young people as well as the teachers who teach them are both frustrated.

Before moving onto the geography curriculum, which is the focus of this study, it is good to understand what the renewed attention for patriotism in the guidelines means for other subjects at school. As could be expected from the literature on nationalism & education, the attention for patriotism became most apparent in the way the history curriculum was reformed (Tsyrlina-Spady & Lovorn, 2015; Zajda & Smith, 2013), with a focus on creating obedient citizens and the glorification

of heroes of the past and removing the controversy around certain historical characters, most notably Stalin (Tsyrlina-Spady & Lovorn, 2015; Tsyrlina-Spady & Stoskopf, 2016). Therefore it is useful to look a bit deeper into the history curriculum. According to Katsva (2015) as well as Tsyrlina-Spady and Stoskopf (2016), Putin himself was strongly involved in the development of the new history guidelines, making sure these would be more patriotic than the previous ones. Several comparative analyses of history textbooks have been made by Zajda and Zajda (2003), Klokova (2004), Konradova (2009) and Tsyrlina-Spady & Lovorn (2015). From these studies can be concluded that in the early 2000s there were several textbooks on the market with old Soviet style descriptions of Russian history alongside some more Western style books based on liberal values. The development however is clearly in the direction of more government influence on the curriculum guidelines and therefore also on the textbooks. Large scale surveys among Russian history teachers by Zajda and Smith (2013) and Lovorn and Tsyrlina-Spady (2015) provide evidence that among these teachers a paradigm shift can be observed, into accepting the desired way of interpreting history. By using the educational guidelines as well as the creation of an image of an enemy that is out there wanting to destroy Russia with the help of the mass-media Tsyrlina-Spady and Palekhova (2017) even go as far as concluding that the government is massively brainwashing its citizens and especially its youth. Going in depth into history textbook analysis would fall outside of the scope of this study, even more so because the method of comparing the history textbooks used in the studies is aimed at the way historical leaders are described and in how far they are depicted as heroic shining examples. This is usually not the way how in geography textbooks nation-building is put forward, which means that it is not so well possible to use the same methods for analysis and comparison.

5.5 Geography in the Russian education system

In this study, the geography education in high school (Grades 5 to 11) is evaluated, in terms of how nation building is integrated into the education. In this section the general structure of the subject of geography is discussed, based on the core objectives of the national education ministry. The importance of geography education in the Russian Federation has been repeatedly stressed by the Russian president in different speeches. Putin (2017b) states that teaching patriotism is according to him the most important contribution of geography education to society and called geography one of the most important and interesting subjects at school which should have special attention for the natural heritage of Russia (Putin, 2014). This patriotism in geography education is also clearly present in the educational goals advisory document by Kozlov et al. (2011, p. 24), where is noted:

Education of pupils in the spirit of respect for his homeland as a united and undividable multinational state, constructed on the basis of equality for all the peoples of Russia, in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, mutual understanding and respect among peoples, rejection of chauvinism and nationalism in any form, militarism and war propaganda; development of pupils' desire to contribute to the solution of the global problems of the present.

There is consensus in the literature about the issue that patriotism is a form of nationalism (see chapter 3), and therefore the guideline quoted above appears to be at least somewhat paradoxical. It would be probably very difficult in practice for teachers to follow this guideline, unless one defines “nationalism in any form” as aggressive single-ethnic, military imperialism or expansionism, something like the term “bourgeois nationalism” that is apparent in literature from Soviet times (Khiterer, 2004).

In his yearly so-called annual direct line with the public of June 2017, the president severely criticised the quality of the geography textbooks, stating that these books have outdated

information and that the authors or publishers don't care about changing outdated information and seem to be just interested in earning large amounts of money for the scheduled replacement of textbooks every 5 years (Putin, 2017a). Geography textbooks can be chosen by schools from the list of federally approved / recommended textbooks. Textbooks can be put on this list, after analysis and consultation of government officials with a scientific committee of experts on educational, social, ethno-cultural and regional issues (Russian Federal Ministry of Education, 2014). The officially approved textbook list is updated regularly, yearly or once every two years.

The structure of the geography curriculum for the secondary school is as follows, according to the standard curriculum plan (Russian Federal Ministry of Education, 2015):

5th Form: 1 hour geography class per week for 34 weeks (34 hours in total)

6th Form: 1 hour geography class per week for 34 weeks (34 hours in total)

7th Form: 2 hours geography class per week for 34 weeks (68 hours in total)

8th Form: 2 hours geography class per week for 34 weeks (68 hours in total)

9th Form: 2 hours geography class per week for 34 weeks (68 hours in total)

These 5-9 forms make up the general secondary school curriculum, compulsory for all Russian secondary school children. For the ones that continue to the pre-university level, the structure for the 10th and 11th forms is as follows:

10th Form: 1 hour geography class per week for 34 weeks (34 hours in total)

11th Form: 1 hour geography class per week for 34 weeks (34 hours in total)

The core objectives, as formulated by the Russian federal ministry of education for the geography education, structure the content of the geography education. The ministry of education set the following goals for the subject geography, according to the guidelines of 2015 for the 5-9th forms:

Geography synthesizes elements of social-scientific and natural-scientific knowledge, the core aim of the subject "Geography" is to foster understanding of the rich ecological, ethnographic, social and economic aspects, necessary for the development of ideas of mutual connection of natural and social sciences, and nature and society in general. The content of geography in general secondary education reflects the comprehensive approach to the study of the environment as a whole and its spatial differentiation in terms of different areas, and earth as a planet. Contents of the subject "Geography" include topics on acts and analysis of the geopolitical situation of the country, including the connection of Russia and Crimea (Russian Federal Ministry of Education, 2015).

The guideline for the 10th and 11th form, specifically mentions a number of additional goals:

Understanding the system of geographical knowledge in a holistic way, in a diverse and fast changing world, the relationship between nature, population and economy in all areas and levels. Understanding geographical aspects of global problems and ways of dealing with them. Methods of studying the geographical space, the variety of its objects and processes. (...)

The development of cognitive interests, intellectual and creative abilities through familiarization with the most important geographical features and problems of the world and its regions and major countries.

Promoting patriotism, tolerance and respect for other peoples and cultures, respect for the environment. Responsibility for the fate of his native land, the country. To promote the formation of an active life position, orientation in choosing a life path (Ibid., 2015)

The geography curriculum should address a number of domains in both physical and human geography. In terms of the sequence of subjects, the Russian core objectives are very clear. First physical geography, then human geography. Based on the core objectives and goals it can be concluded that the philosophy behind the school geography is one of classical regional geography,

which goes in its core back to the so-called chorology (“Raumwissenschaft”), a strongly ideographic approach to knowledge, developed by Von Richthofen and Hettner in the late 19th and early 20th century. This means that there is probably limited room in the curriculum and textbooks to deal with generalizations and theories. Given one of the goals of the geography education in Russia, namely the promotion of pride about the country, the native land of the students, an in-depth ideographic approach of the curriculum is not surprising, as it tends to focus on the uniqueness of the place. This ideographic approach and classical regional geography consists of a clear methodological approach, starting from geology and biology, via physical geography and geomorphology towards agriculture, industry and issues like international trade and politics, all focused on one single region or country. This methodological approach is called analysis via a standard scheme and order, in German “Länderkundliches Schema” (Hettner, 1927). An example of this approach can be found in the introduction of one of the analysed textbooks:

The second section of the textbook is devoted to the study of geographical regions of Russia: a huge country, a "country of countries", a large "family of regions". Each region has its own history, its own special a combination of nature, population and economy, its unique face. However, the basis of any development of any region is its natural environment. A person can't develop any activities, without consuming resources: water, air, soil fertility, minerals, etc. (Alekseev, Nizovchev, Kim, Lisenkova, & Sirotin, 2011, p. 8).

Notwithstanding this, the Russian geography education is certainly not just static. Even though this ideographic chorology core strongly exists, the core objectives do also include some more recent additions which are more nomothetic in nature:

School geography does also include knowledge, skills, ideological ideas and experience of creative activity, which is not fully developed. Knowledge is the ideal reproduction of objective reality. Theoretical knowledge is generalized knowledge. It reflects the essence of objects and phenomena, determines their features and relationships. (Laws, theories, cause-effect relationships, concepts, patterns). Empirical knowledge reflects the external features of phenomena and objects (representations and facts). Today, the increase in the scientific level of school geography is due to an increase in the share of theoretical knowledge (Russian Federal Ministry of Education, 2015).

A part of the same document consists of suggestions / instructions for a teaching strategy for geography teachers. From these teaching strategy descriptions, it becomes clear that there is a small but nonetheless visible shift towards more open-ended research assignments, in order to develop creative thinking among students. As written in the teaching strategy part of the same document, ideal teaching should consist of:

1. *Explanatory & illustrative, teaching from the textbook and maps.*
2. *Reproduction of knowledge, standard tasks for students, looking up existing data.*
3. *Supporting logic thinking, solving physical geography problem statements by applying natural laws.*
4. *Research assignments, generalized problems for which the students have to think how to search for information, thus invoking their creativity (Ibid., 2015).*

Divided over the school years, and based on the before mentioned methodology, the picture of the subjects and content of geography looks like this:

5th Form: Main theme: Planet earth
 (1st section) Images of earth.
 (2nd section) Geosphere Earth, Lithosphere, Atmosphere, Hydrosphere, Biosphere

- 6th Form: Main theme: Development of geographical knowledge about the earth
(1st section) Images of the earth surface, climate zones and vegetation
(2nd section) Lithosphere
(3rd section) Hydrosphere, Atmosphere, Biosphere and division of the world population
- 7th Form Main theme: Geography of continents and oceans.
(1st section) Lithosphere and relief of planet earth. The atmosphere and the earth's climate. Hydrosphere and the oceans.
(2nd section) Oceans and continents
(3rd section) the earth's crust and natural resources
- 8th Form Main theme: Our homeland on the world map.
(1st section) Features of nature and natural resources of Russia, topography, geology and mineral resources, climate and climatic resources, inland waters and aquatic resources, soils and soil resources, flora and fauna of Russia, biological resources.
(2nd section) Russian natural complexes, natural zoning, the nature of Russian regions, relation between human and nature.
- 9th Form Main theme: Russia's place in the world.
(1st section) Population of Russia
(2nd section) Russian economy
(3rd section) Regions of Russia, Territorial organization and zoning of Russia

For the students continuing secondary school on the pre-university level the following course content is foreseen:

- 10th Form Main theme: World Geography
(1st section) Modern methods of geographical research
(2nd section) Nature and Man now and in the past. Environmental destabilization of the planet
(3rd section) Population of the world. Migration issues
- 11th Form Main theme: World Geography
(1st section) Regions and countries in the world. Diversity of countries, development issues, development of (South) East Asia, BRICs etc.
(2nd section) Russia in the world. Location of Russia, International trade and geopolitics.
(3rd section) Geographical aspects of modern global problems of mankind. Environmental issues and their solutions, economic development strategies for developing countries.

From the official guidelines in terms of the layout of the geography curriculum, it is clear that the approach of the teaching program is strongly inspired by classical regional geography, with a focus on physical geography and a rather limited place for human geography. Next to that, teaching feelings of patriotism is one of the objectives of the program. The recently added explanation of the "relation between Russia and Crimea" points in that direction as well.

5.6 Description of the textbook contents

5.6.1 Introduction of the textbooks

The textbooks discussed in this section are analysed mainly for their nation building content. The books mentioned here have been taken into the analysis, as they are – according to a rating by Russian teachers – among the most popular textbooks in Russia (Informika, 2017).

The textbooks are represented here by their cover page and a small description about the edition, author and publisher. The structure of each book can be found in the Annexes.

Figure 5.3: Covers / Basic information of the textbooks used in the analysis



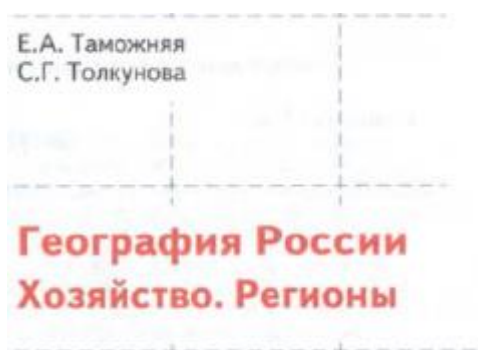
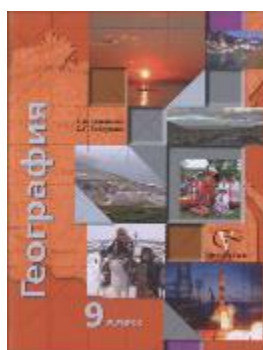
В. П. Дронов, В. Я. Ром
География России. Население и хозяйство. 9 класс

Geography textbook 1: Geography of Russia. People and economy. 9th grade.

Authors: Dronov, V.P & Rom, V.Ya

Year: 2012

Publisher: Drofa, Moscow



Geography textbook 3: Geography of Russia: Economy, regions. 9th grade

Authors: Tamozhenaya, E.A. & Tolkunova, S.G.

Year: 2013

Publisher: Ventana-graf, Moscow



Geography textbook 4: Geography of Russia, 8th grade

Author: Petrova, N. N.

Year: 2007

Publisher: INOS, Moscow

Максаковский В.П.

География. 10-11 класс. Учебник.
Базовый уровень. ФГОС



Geography textbook 5: Geography. 10-11 grade. Textbook. Basic level, according to the federal learning standards.

Author: Maksakovski, V.P.

Year: 2012

Publisher: Prosvesheniye, Moscow



Geography textbook 2: Geography of Russia. Economy and geographical regions 9th grade

Author: Alekseev, A.I. et al.

Year: 2011

Publisher: Drofa, Moscow

5.6.2 8th and 9th grade: Russia's place in the world / Russian regions

Russia's place in the world is the main overarching theme of the Russian geography curriculum in the 9th grade. The subject is split up in different chapters or sub-themes, based on the core objectives of the Russian ministry of education. The textbooks of the 9th class, consist of three parts, the first part is about the place of Russia in the world, a description of Russia in relation to other countries and information about the characteristics and specifics of Russia itself. The second part is economic geography and consists of a thorough description of industrial complexes and deals with the relations of these industries and is focused around the questions *where* and *why there*. This is the most nomothetic subject of the textbooks. The third and largest part of the 9th grade textbook consists of Russian regional geography in which all regions are discussed and described according to their regional specifics. In the sections below, several quotes and short descriptions are taken to illustrate the idea that these textbooks in the context of these three parts deal with nation building.

Textbook 1: "Geography of Russia: Population & Economy"

The first textbook that has been analysed on nation building issues is the textbook *Geography of Russia: Population & Economy* of Dronov & Rom. When reading the book, it can be noted that even though the text in this textbook appears to mainly consist of plain facts, there are also some more nationalist elements available: Russia is described in terms of "the biggest, the largest and the leader among many nations". The authors are clearly "cherry picking" statistics to describe the position of

Russia among the other nations of the world, all statistics show the country in a positive light. Many praising adjectives are used in the text, just a couple of such remarks (translated into English):

Russia is the largest country on the planet, 1/8 of the surface of the world, far beyond number 2, Canada. (...) Russia is the single most multi-national country. Within her borders live more than 160 peoples. (...) Russia is world leader among the supply and production of natural resources (...) In terms of total GDP, Russia is among the first ten countries in the world, only giving way to the USA, China, Japan, India and Germany. Russia has a great importance in the world community (...) being one of the five permanent UN Security Council members. (...) Russia is among the G8, the most developed industrial countries with the largest political and economic influence. (...) Russia has a huge defence potential, to prevent attacks on its territory and natural resources. (...) The Russian culture and science are of global importance (Dronov & Rom, 2012, pp. 4-5).

All these praising words do not mean that the authors do not describe any problems at all with the economic, social and political development of Russia, as there is for example a lot of attention in the economic geography part of the textbook for the difficult transport issues within Russia and also internationally. As the authors conclude: *Several of the most important ports from before the breakup of the USSR became located outside of Russia.* (Although one can argue that this is a form of externalizing the causes of existing problems). Another subject that gets a lot of attention is the geopolitical situation of Russia (Ibid., p. 13). According to the authors, Russia's geopolitical situation is not very favourable: Russia is in between two major military blocks, an expanding NATO in the west and a militarily growing China in the southeast. From a strategic political & economic point of view, Russia is hemmed in between the economic powerhouses EU in the west and in the east and southeast by Japan and China. The Russian state form itself is described in the book as a federation, with a major goal according to its constitution: to be a union of different peoples. The federal level provides the citizenship and the monetary union, but as the textbook explains further, different federal subject and their subsidiaries have considerable autonomy. According to the scheme of the

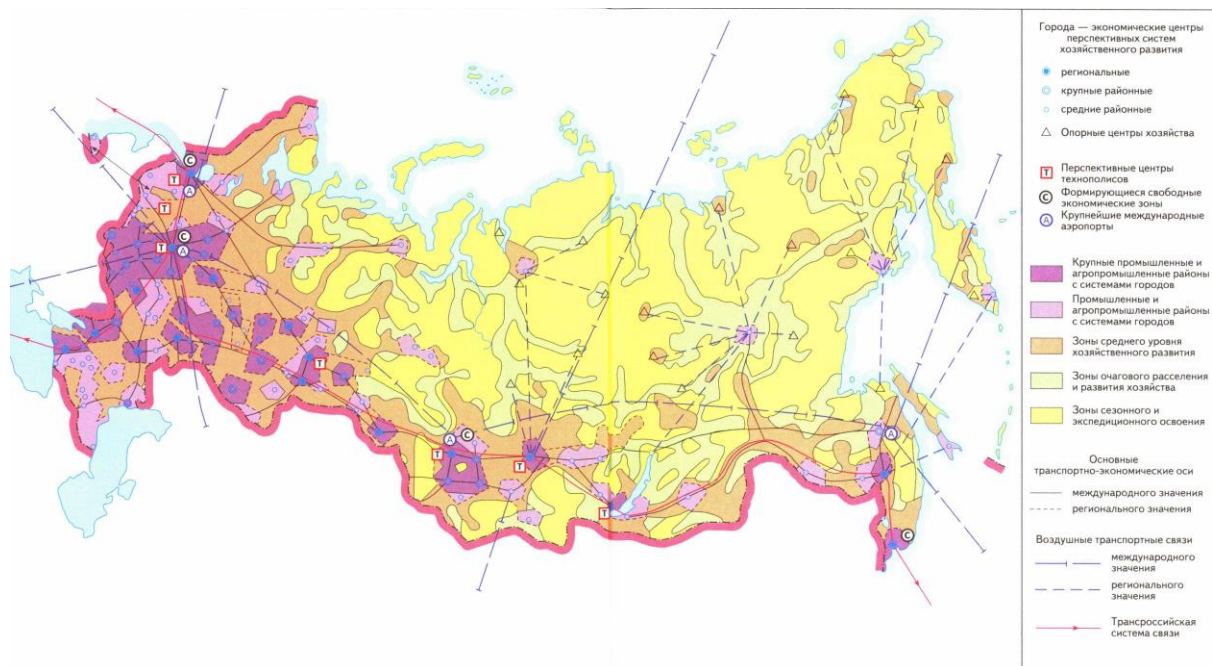


Figure 5.4 Map of Russia with transport linkages abroad. They appear to end in a sort of “white nowhere”. Russia is depicted on most maps as an isolated entity from the rest of the world.

Source: Dronov & Rom, p. 2

“division of state power” in the book, there is just one key person on the federal level, the president of the Russian Federation (Ibid., p. 8).

The authors discuss the history of the country and its expansion. According to them, the Russian state comes directly out of Kievan Rus lands, and what is more: Russians civilized the southern steppes where before nomadic people simply roamed without much purpose and organization (Ibid., p. 39). The 16th century brings besides the territorial extension, the change from the state of the Rus into the Russian state, as more and more other people become part of it. They write:

In the 19th century, the formation of the territory of the Russian Empire is completed by the integration of Finland, the Caucasus and Central Asia, and the final consolidation of the Amur in the Far East. However, with a decisive turn towards the West, Russia lost their positions in the East (Alaska, Kuril Islands, and South Sakhalin) (Ibid., p. 22).

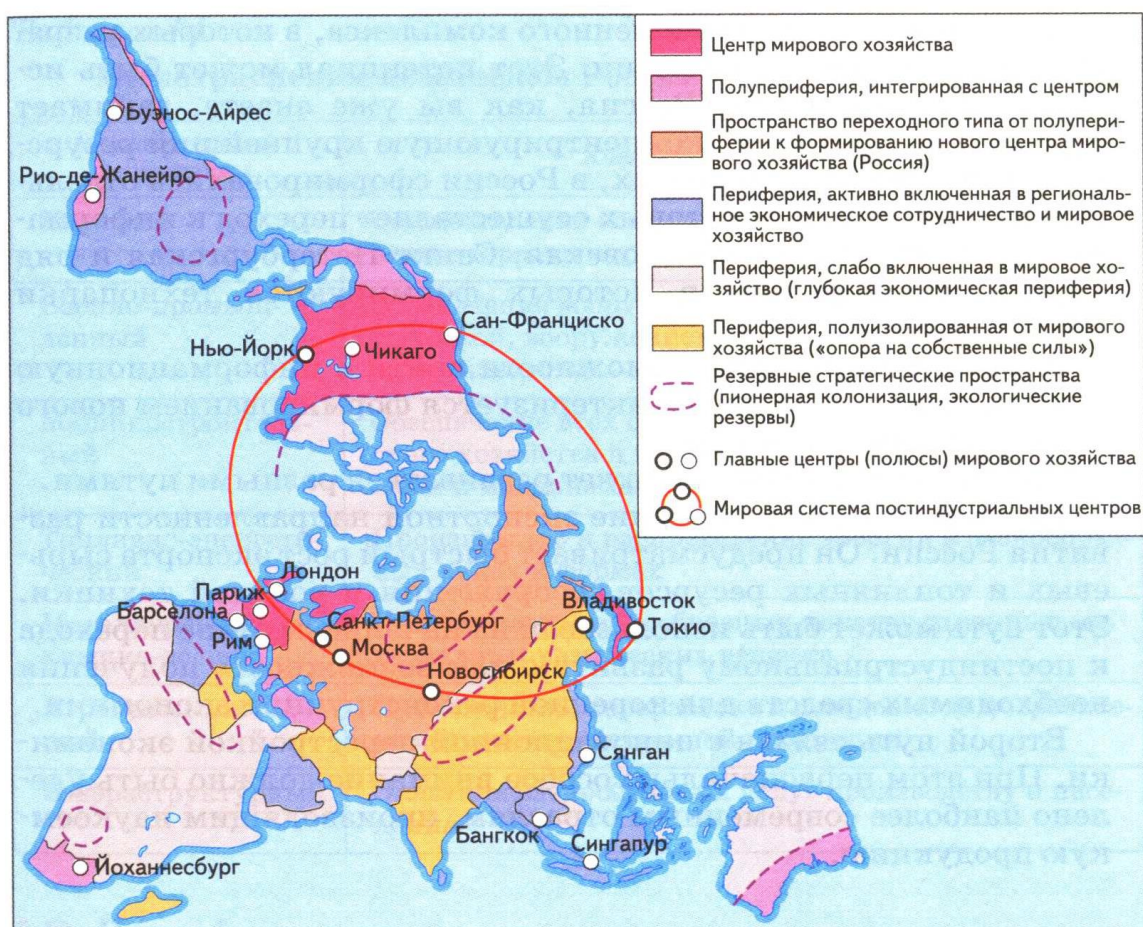


Рис. 23. Место России в мировой экономике

Figure 5.5 Place of Russia in the world economy. Because of the specific map projection Russia appears to be in an absolute central position, including some of Russia’s metropolitan areas as included in “a ring of world metropolitan centers”.

Source: Dronov & Rom, p. 55

In terms of the ecological situation of Russia in general, the authors mention a number of international ecological problems that Russia suffers from, which are coming from the outside:

Polluted air from the industrial regions of western and central Europe is brought with the predominant southwestern wind over Russia causing acid rain. Along with the air pollution, there is the threat of pollution of the seas. A branch of the North Atlantic Current brings water, polluted in the North Sea and the Norwegian Sea, where oil and gas are actively

extracted, right at the northern Russian shores. (...) In the Far East, the concentration of industry in north-eastern China and Japan negatively affects Russian territories (Ibid., p. 14).

The authors do remark that indeed neighbours could also suffer from Russian ecological problems:

Russia itself has a number of ecological problems for its neighbours, these are primarily the areas of the Kola Peninsula, the Barents Sea and the Kara Sea, where the nuclear reactors of submarines are buried. (...) A significant part of the pollution of the Sea of Japan is associated with radioactive waste of submarines of the Russian pacific fleet (Ibid., p. 14).

The problem described in the citation above, that of acid rain seems to be somewhat outdated, because of policy measures that were taken in the 1980s and 1990s, it is since the early 2000s not an urgent problem anymore. It is not clear why these elements are still there, but one of the reasons may be that these environmental issues are considered to be rather stable by the authors and therefore not updated.

Dronov & Rom describe several problems related to the economic situation and development of the country. They also ask the question whether Russia is maybe simply too large as a country. It is interesting to see how they combine a smaller territory size with economic development, and a larger size with military power:

There are often directly opposed opinions of scientists on the extent to which the size of the territory affects the development of the country. For some, the size is seen as cursed, pushing the country on a path of extensive development. If there would have been an ocean at the Urals, Russia would have been a highly developed civilized state. On the other hand, without Siberian riches Russia would be weaker and not have been able to withstand the fascist aggression (Ibid., p. 19).

The development problems are not solved and could lead to a further lagging behind of Russia, potentially leading to a significantly worsening international position of the country. This is however slightly in contradiction with the map (figure 5.5), in which they project Russia as a nation with metropolises directly in a network with those from the most developed countries:

At present, economically developed countries move into the next Kondratieff cycle, which in the scientific literature is called: "information economy" (...). But, this post-industrial stage development has a significant negative consequences for Russia. The centres of post-industrial economy are concentrated in the most economically developed states (USA, countries of the European Union and Japan). It is these countries that determine the course of development of the world economy and the periphery around them has to follow them (Ibid., p. 53).

Another reason of worry is that science in Russia is in decline:

Russian science and its outstanding scientists have made a huge contribution to the development of world civilization. In the twentieth century. Their achievements in the development of space, in various fields of physics, geology, surgery, etc., were especially great. (...) Insufficient funding of science caused the number of employees in the sector to decrease significantly. The number of auxiliary and maintenance personnel, not directly related to scientific developments, was particularly sharply reduced. This includes migration of scientists abroad ("brain drain") and transition to other jobs (Ibid., p. 58).

Dronov & Rom describe the problem of the Russian car industry as symptomatic for the development of the Russian industry in general in their description of the economic geography of Russia. There are no high quality raw materials and obsolete production methods and neglected production processes. Therefore the cars are of poor quality. Another reason is the supposedly low experience of the industry due to the previous planned economy, although it appears to be somewhat odd that this kind of adaption (at the time of writing) would last for more than 20 years. It

may be an example of the frequent externalization of problems, which is common with writers of patriotic texts (See chapter 3 for in-depth explanation):

During USSR, 80% of the products of the car/machine building complex was in the service of the military. Therefore, an important problem of Russian car/machine building is the conversion of military industrial enterprises into consumer enterprises (Ibid., p. 67).

The second part of the textbook is about the regional geography of Russia. This part is thorough, all Russian regions are described in detail, but the books stays very descriptive. Not a lot of explicit nation building elements can be found in the book, except perhaps the frequent references to Russian culture and its writers / composers and other famous historical persons, for example in this passage where cities of central Russia are described:

Tula - is known for its steel industry, as well as for the metallurgical industry and the production of weapons. Today it is an important centre of the military-industrial complex. Near Tula is Yasnaya Polyana, the museum-estate of the famous Russian writer Lev Tolstoy. Kaluga - is the centre of radio electronics, transport engineering and instrumentation. In the city there is a museum about the cosmos and the museum house of K. E. Tsiolkovsky. A large automobile plant is being created.

Oryol - is the centre of steel rolling and mechanical engineering. In Oryol region is the estate of the Russian writer I. S. Turgenev.

The age old city Ryazan - is one of the largest cities in the central region, centre of radio electronics, machine-tool construction and oil refining. Near the city is a high capacity power plant.

Bryansk - the largest transport node after Moscow - is the centre of transport engineering. In the Bryansk forests, the partisan territory was located during the Great Patriotic War (Ibid., p. 187).

Рис. 104. Тобольский кремль



Рис. 105. Строительство моста через р. Ангару в г. Иркутске вызвано необходимостью увеличения транспортных потоков по автомагистралям, связывающим северные районы Иркутской области и Республику Саха (Якутию)

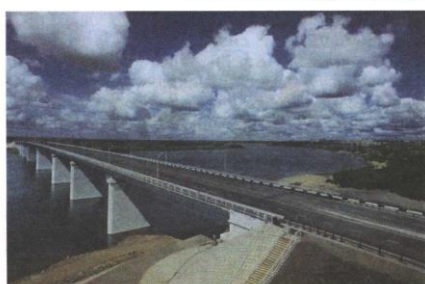
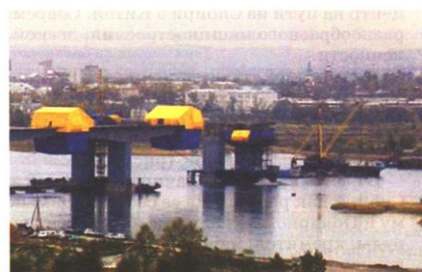


Рис. 106. Мост через реку Томь у г. Томска

Рис. 108. Лов рыбы на озере Байкал



Figure 5.6 Some of the photographs from the chapter on Siberia (top left: Kremlin of Tobolsk, top right: construction of a bridge over the Angara river, bottom left: bridge over the river Tom near Tomsk, bottom right: fishing boats on lake Baikal
Source: Dronov & Rom, pp. 251-252

Other Russian regions are equally described thorough, according to a fixed pattern, from geology and natural resources to nature, population and economy, in a way that resembles the Hettnerian “Länderkundliches Schema”. In the part of the book dedicated the south region of Russia, the authors comment on the importance of this region for the country, especially in terms of geopolitics:

In order to correctly assess the geographic position of the South of Russia, it is necessary to take into account its role in ensuring Russia's geopolitical interests. This is the only region providing the country with access to the Azov and Black Seas, and to the states of Transcaucasia. This geopolitical feature of its geographical location has a huge impact on the development of the European South. For example, reconstruction and expansion of Novorossiysk, Tuapse and Sochi ports is one of the most important state tasks (Ibid., p. 208).

The way of how the people from the Russian south are described, shows the between-the-lines “Russo-centredness” of the book:

Russia's south is the most multinational region in Russia. Here live 42 peoples who have independent languages. The number of dialects is more than 100. Especially in the mountains live many nationalities. Multinationality is a consequence of the complex and long history of the formation of the district. Long before our era, the Scythians and others were wandering around here. Numerous sedentary tribes lived in the mountains. A complete list of the peoples who originally lived and came here would be very extensive: the Greeks and Huns, monads and Polovtsians, Adygeans and Alans, Khazars and Meots. The Slavs, who now are the majority in the plains, appeared here in the 9th century. They founded here the large city of Tmutarakan. The real Russian colonization of the European South began at the end of the 15th century. (...) Finally, the North Caucasus was integrated in Russia as a result of the 50-year Caucasian War (Ibid., p. 212).

This concludes the description of the first textbook. In the regional part of the book Dronov & Rom have more implicitly than explicitly written about issues related to patriotism and nation building. The focus in the description of the country is on its enormous reserves of natural resources, ranging from wood to gold and oil and gas. This vast richness in natural resources is meant to impress and teach students about the “potential” greatness of Russia (however without explanation why this potential did not yet become reality).

Textbook 2: Geography of Russia: Economy & Geographical regions

The second textbook, textbook number 2 *Geography of Russia: Economy & Geographical regions* under the redaction of A. I. Alekseev, focuses a bit more than other textbooks on the economic development of Russia. Just like Dronov & Rom, the textbook of Alekseev et al. consists of three main parts, a part about Russia in the world, a sort of introduction. The second part about economic geography and the different industrial complexes and finally also a third part in which individual Russian regions are described.

In the first part about the position of Russia in the world, Dronov & Rom, ask the question whether Russia might be too large as a country and that therefore innovation and science are suboptimal in Russia. Alekseev et al. however, do not comment on the size of Russia and put forward different arguments because of which Russia is not quite able to reach the same development level as Western Europe & North America:

Why some countries economically break out ahead, and others lag behind is one of the most difficult problems, still not solved by scientists. It is possible to explain only partially, some of the features of the development of individual countries. For example, the more northern and more "cold" position of Russia (in comparison with other countries of the Old and New World) requires a lot of fuel and energy and therefore reduces economic efficiency of agriculture and thereby creates for our country less favourable conditions of economic development. Also the bloody Great Patriotic War [Second World War, JCB] with the death of tens of millions of people - all of this greatly complicated the development of Russia (Alekseev et al., 2011, p. 14).

It is not clear from the text how in the opinion of Alekseev et al. the Second World War still 80 years later has so much of an influence on Russia, whereas in other countries with a lot of war damage, like the UK and Germany, this is apparently not an issue. Also the cold climate hypotheses can't explain why for example Canada and Scandinavia are doing so well economically. Alekseev et al. conclude this section of the book with (without specifically mentioning the Western World, but instead speak about "most advanced countries"):

Russia is ahead of most countries in the world, but at the same time, traditionally lags behind in the structure of the economy and on the level of its development from the most advanced countries (Ibid., p. 16).

In terms of the territory and state Alekseev et al. stress the same issues as Dronov & Rom, namely the Russia is a federation of many different people and that subdivision into federal subjects with autonomy is very necessary:

(...) this administrative-territorial division, is necessary for the continued existence of a state, especially such a huge diverse one as Russia (Ibid., p. 22).

The second part of the book is a description and analysis of the different industrial complexes. In the description of the Agro-industrial complex (according to Alekseev et al. around 50% of Russia's

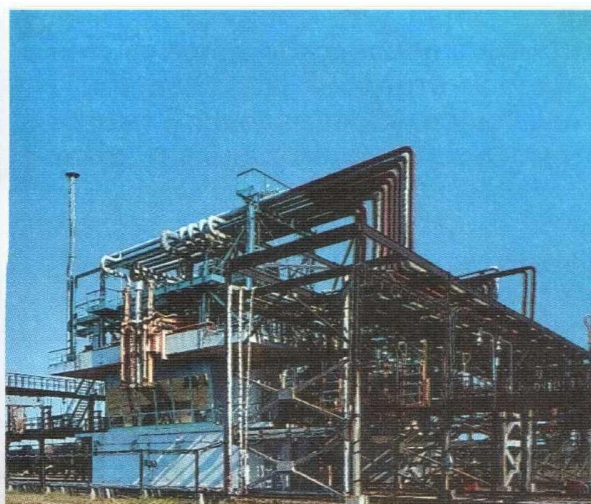


Рис. 28. Нефтеперерабатывающий завод



Рис. 29. Бензоколонка

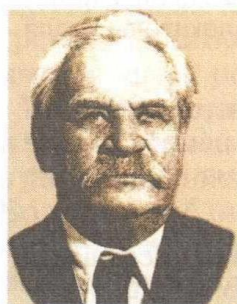
Figure 5.7 Pictures of the supply chain of oil products
Source: Alekseev et al., p. 49

industrial output), struggles with several problems with effectiveness and efficiency. They describe that just 40-45% of vegetables produced reach the final customer, all the rest is wasted. The huge distances and poorly developed infrastructure and negligence during the USSR period cause these problems (Ibid., p. 38). During his direct line with the people in 2017, president Putin strongly criticized geography textbooks, when he said that these books are generally outdated and that no such as above described crisis exists (anymore) in agriculture. He stated to be appalled that this type of outdated information is still written down in geography textbooks (Putin, 2017a).

Alekseev et al. use a vivid writing style full of emotions, when describing the situation of Russia's economy. Just as an example, the achievements of the Russian machine / vehicle building industrial complex, closely connected to the military industrial complex is described in superlatives:

And what about the meaning of vehicles in military affairs! Back in the 1930s it was clear already that the future war will become a "motorized war". Designed by domestic designers, and tanks produced in our factories, together with airplanes, and the famous rocket launcher - "Katyusha" and many other types of military equipment, were superior in quality to the German ones and helped our army win the Great Patriotic War. Of course, not only the military technicians work on the Russian vehicles and other machine constructions. The first nuclear power plant in the world, the first atomic icebreaker, the first artificial satellite, the first manned spaceship, the first from earth controlled, remote operated moon vehicle "Lunachod" and many other products confirm that Russian industry can produce machines of the highest possible quality (Alekseev et al., 2011, p. 60).

The way of describing past glory in terms of great technical achievements is clearly patriotic, including the part following it, in which they lament on the quality of the produced consumer goods. As both Anderson (1983) and Hobsbawm (1990) explain, negative issues tend to be externalized while working on nation building, something that seem to happen here as well. Alekseev et al. consider consumer products to be bad because of the lack of competition, leading to "relaxation" and sloppiness in production, during the Soviet times, a situation that according to them even today plagues the Russian manufacturing industry. It seems a bit odd that at the time of writing these adjustment problems still exist, more than 20 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It may be either an issue of outdated information, or alternatively the industry might be plagued with a situation that is described by Hospers (2015, p. 158) as "regional software" problems or by Grabher (1993, p. 255) even as "institutional lock-in".



Николай Николаевич Баранский (1881—1963)

Один из основателей отечественной экономической географии, создатель учения о географическом разделении труда и теории экономико-географического положения. Задачей географии считал комплексное изучение территории — «от геологии до идеологии», причем не просто для ее описания, но и для преобразования. География, по Баранскому, должна быть конструктивной наукой.

Figure 5.8 Alekseev et al. often quote Nikolay Baranskiy (1881 – 1963). He is according to the authors famous for his approach to study regions "from geology to ideology". The authors use his proposed methods for describing regions in the textbook as well.

Source: Alekseev et al., p. 82

Like Dronov & Rom, Alekseev et al. mention in the chapter about infrastructure the lack of seaports in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They conclude that infrastructure has a decisive role in keeping the country together:

An extensive transport network (...) leads to intensive contacts between people, between residents of different regions and settlements, the possibility of selling products and exchange ideas between them is a necessary condition for the development of society; without it, it is impossible to feel the unity of Russia, and reach real integrity of our country (Alekseev et al., 2011, p. 73).

This attention for infrastructure as vehicle for nation building is something that can be found in several studies on territorial integration, the most famous of which is the one of Weber (1976) on the integration of France. The integrating role of infrastructure can also be found in Johnson and Turner (1997) in their study of the Trans European Network (TEN) program. Alekseev et al. write about the division of labour and economic geography. They comment on the change to market economy and the economic benefits of free trade, although this could turn out to be bad for domestic producers:

Previously, "closed" countries and areas are beginning to exchange products and, as a result, the efficiency of the entire economy and the life of people becomes richer and more diverse. (...) In the last decade, the transition to a market economy in many ways changed the usual fundamental economic questions in our country: How to adapt production to new market economy conditions, what to produce and consume locally, what to export and what to import (Alekseev et al., 2011, p. 84)?

From the previous quote, it is interesting to note that even in 2011 the authors mention the economic transition towards a market economy as something from the "last decade". Several other of these sort of texts appear throughout the book, from which the conclusion could be drawn that the core text of this textbook was written during the 1990s and only partially updated throughout the years following in new editions.

In the regional geography part of textbook 2, the authors describe the characteristics of the different Russian regions and natural systems. The description is quite different than in the other textbooks, although more vivid and more emotional. In this part of the book several strongly patriotic elements as well as other nation building elements can be found. An example of this is the way the river Volga is described, as being one of the core national symbols of Russia:

The Volga River in the minds of every Russian is a symbol of Russia, an inalienable part of its richest history and original culture. To each Russian, the Volga is known because of songs about Stepan Razin, Repin's "Burlaks on the Volga" or paintings like Levitan's "Volga at Plyos". We will always remember the heroic battle on the Volga [Stalingrad, JCB] in the Great Patriotic War [Second World War, JCB]. It is difficult to overestimate the role played by the Volga in the life of Russia (Ibid., p. 94).

The author describes a voyage over the Volga with references to Russia's historical cities on the river banks and famous poems and the natural beauty of the region, consisting of many patriotic elements. To quote just a small part of the description:

Not far from the sources of the Volga (near the village of Volgoverkhovye), is Lake Seliger located, with its numerous (about 160) islands. From here the Volga searches its way among the swamps, overgrown with cranberries and cloudberryes, among thick alder and mossy spruce forests. It is quite narrow, it has rapids and flows fast - the fall of the river is almost 3 meter per 1 km, as if it is trying to escape from this land of swamps and dense forests... (Ibid., p. 95).

The author continues to discuss the Volga and laments on the engineering works in the river, the construction of hydro dams which has destroyed much of its soul and irreplaceable Russian heritage: *...2,500 villages, 96 cities and towns were destroyed with thousands of historical and cultural monuments - our national historical heritage. With the filling of the reservoirs, there has also been a rise in groundwater on the vast territories of the Volga Basin. Due to flooding the unique forest steppes began to perish. Because of the construction of dams and strong water pollution, the world's largest herd of sturgeon started to decline. The problem of pollution of the Volga water has now become one of the most acute problems of the whole of Russia (...) Remember that the Volga is our common property, an invaluable gift of nature to the Russian people, and not just a few people, but all Russian citizens should care for her (Ibid., pp. 96-98).*

To attribute almost human characteristics to natural elements is an often used method of invoking patriotism, as discussed by Hobsbawm.

Related to the citizens living in the regions around the middle part of the Volga, Alekseev et al. share the following observation:

Another feature of the area is ethnic diversity. Here clearly there is a mixture of cultures of several peoples that populate these lands. With an absolute majority of Russians (more than 90%), there is a large population of Tatars, Chuvash, Mordvins, Mari. (...) Mixed marriages of Mordvins, and transition to Russian led to assimilation ("dissolution") of the ethnos, therefore the number decreases. The Turkic-speaking Chuvashes, as well as the Tatars are less characterized by mixed marriages. (...) All peoples inhabiting the Volga-Vyatka region have their own differences in clothes, traditional food, life, rituals, but they have very much in common (Ibid., p. 124).

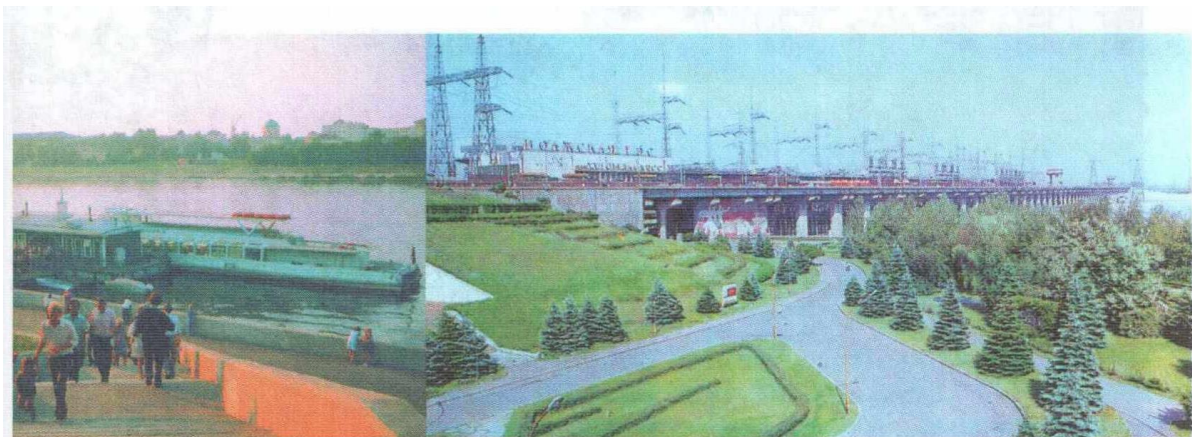


Figure 5.9 Ferry on the Volga (left) and Hydropower engineering works on the river (right)
Source: Alekseev et al., p. 95

Compare for example the description of Dronov & Rom with Alekseev et al. in terms of the description of the Volga and Volga-region, which is clearly less patriotic:

The name of this macro-region [Povolzhe, "On the Volga", JCB] does not require any decoding. It is firmly connected with the name of the largest river of the Russian plain, and one of the largest rivers in the world, the Volga. On both sides of the river, the Volga region is located in a wide arc. (...) The natural Volga region can actually only be called the territory adjacent to the Volga, until its watershed. But most often the Volga region is also used to group regions and republics of Russia located in the middle and lower Volga area (Tatarstan,

Kalmykia, Ulyanovskaya, Samara, Saratov, Volgograd and Astrakhan regions) (Dronov & Rom, 2012, p. 216).

When describing the so-called Central Russian macro-region, the issue that this part of Russia is actually located in the western part of the country is explained by Alekseev et al. by the breakup of the USSR, which lead to a “separation from the southern and western territory”:

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 changed the geographical position of central-Russia. Our country as a whole has become more "northern" and more "eastern", because it separated from the territory in the west and south (Alekseev et al., 2011, p. 99).

In the same regional part of the textbook about the central macro-region, the population and its characteristics are described as well, Alekseev et al. have the following remarks about the Russian population, especially those of the historical central Russian region, the old territory of the state of Muscovy:

The central Russian region, primarily the confluence of the Volga and the Oka, is the core region of the formation of the Russian people. It was from here that the Russians settled on the vast territory of Russia to the north, east and south. Look what a famous 19th century ethnographer explained about the Great Russians: “Right here the physical type and character of the Great Russians [in distinction of Little Russians (Ukrainians) and Byelorussians, JCB] developed. (...) Great Russians are quite prominent, stately and handsome. The struggle against difficulties in the conditions of the severe nature has made them hardy, patient and less demanding to the benefits of life. Seasonality of agricultural work has determined a special rhythm of life: A short summer with unstable weather made them work fast, straining all the forces. The long winter, gave long leisure, and allowed to engage in various crafts. Unfavourable natural conditions taught survival, so the population has long been distinguished by enterprise, energy and mobility” (Ibid., p. 105).



Figure 5.10 Traditional Russian art. In comparison with the other textbooks, Alekseev et al. have relatively much attention for arts and crafts.

Source: Alekseev et al., p. 104

The description of the character of the Russian people as being dependent on the natural environment is a form of geographic determinism that was used by social Darwinist thinkers like Plekhanov in Russia in the early 20th century, to elevate the own population above that of different countries, and can be therefore seen as a clear nationalist message (Bassin, 1992; Chappell, 1993). Geographical determinism has fallen out of fashion in most of the academic world (De Pater, 2002; Sorokin, 1928), but seem to be still alive and used in Russia. In terms of the continuity of the state, it becomes clear that Alekseev et al. consider Kievan Rus as the one and only predecessor of Russia, arguing about cities that were lost and later on regained by Russia, for example Kursk in southwest of the central Russian macro region:

Kursk, which arose as a fortified Slavic settlement on the border with the steppe (where the Pechenegs wandered, and then the Polovtsians), was a famous city of Kievan Rus. During the Mongol-Tatar invasion it was devastated, and then this territory fell under the power of the Lithuanian Principality and only from the 16th century Kursk became again a part of the Russian state (Ibid., p. 121).

Another macro region, besides the Volga region and the Central macro region is the Russian north-west region. Alekseev et al. also write about this region as being important for Russia, its history and culture and as an area to be proud of. About Pskov for example:

Pskov was important and rich because of the trade to the north and the south. From 1240 - 1242 the city was captured by the knights of the German Teutonic Order, and only the victory of Alexander Nevsky on Peipus lake (the Battle on Ice) brought freedom for the country (Ibid., p. 132).

St. Petersburg is described as having the highest level of palace building in architecture, something every Russian should be proud of, something which can't be found anywhere else, another strong patriotic message:

Maybe that's why Russian tourists getting acquainted with Versailles and other palaces of Western Europe, are not too much impressed - after all, they saw the palaces of St. Petersburg and its suburbs. (Although it was with Versailles that the Russian Emperors were trying to compete in luxury - but Russian students in many respects have surpassed their teachers) (Ibid., p. 138).

In terms of St. Petersburg, Alekseev et al. conclude that St. Petersburg represents the "European vector" and "Window to Europe" of Russia, something that can be attributed to the Eurasian Ideas of Lev Gumilyov (see chapter 4.2):

In the 19th and early 20th century, travellers from Western Europe often said that St. Petersburg is a "purely European" city, and the cultural border between Europe and Asia passes somewhere between St. Petersburg and Moscow. Created "following European patterns," and collecting the finest European art (stored in its museums, embodied in its buildings, in the whole appearance of the city), St. Petersburg symbolizes the "European vector" of Russia's development, and it promotes the development of the country "along the European path" (Ibid., p. 139).

Another part of the north-west macro-region is the Kaliningrad exclave. About this relatively newly acquired part of Russia the authors have the following remarks, by putting even a sort of historical claim on this territory by making a comparison of the Seven Years' War with the Second World War:

Russia acquired these lands in 1945, after the Second World War, during the Potsdam agreements (...) For Russia this was the second time when they seized the territory of the Eastern Prussia. In 1756-1762, during the Seven Years' War, the Russian troops occupied this territory. They formed here the Königsberg province. The war was very successful for Russia,

the Prussian troops were twice completely defeated, and the Russian army managed to visit Berlin (Ibid., p. 140).

There is no mentioning about the sudden retreat of the Russian army in the Seven Years War after the death of Czarina Elizabeth when the Russian army was just in front of Berlin, which definitively shifted this war in favour of Prussia.

From the theory on nationalism follows that negative aspects are often externalized. Related to Kaliningrad such examples of (partly) externalizing problems can be found as well:

...much of the heritage has been destroyed during the fierce battles of 1945, on top of destruction by the Anglo-American bomber formations. Since all had to be rebuilt, up to now Kaliningrad region has almost the best roads in Russia (Ibid., p. 141).



Figure 5.11 Images of culture and economy of Saint Petersburg
Source: Alekseev et al., p. 138

The next region that is discussed in the book is the European North macro-region. The authors speak in superlatives about the importance of the north macro-region for the culture, something Anderson would probably qualify as invented tradition:

The cultural heritage of the North is enormous. It is difficult to list all of it. For example, the North played the crucial role to "preserve" the oral folk creativity: culture was here preserved (and recorded in the 19th century.) Epics, stories and legends composed in the times of Kievan Rus disappeared in other parts of our country (Ibid., p. 153).

As conclusion about the importance of the Russian north, Alekseev et al. exclaim in an almost lyrical way, with a strong patriotic message:

In richness and diversity of our cultural heritage, the European north occupies an outstanding place in Russia. How much poorer our history and culture would be: our national consciousness without these churches, cities and villages and their traditions! Accession to

the heritage of the north and understanding it lifts us from "Ivan, the ignorant", into cultural people, true Russians, conscious citizens of our country! We can be proud of the glorious deeds of our ancestors, but at the same time we must prove that we are worthy descendants and successors of their cause. This is possible only by creatively continuing and developing their traditions (Ibid., p. 155).

The next part of the book is about the south and south central part of Russia. About the Volga region with its many ethnic minorities, Alekseev et al. write in a completely different tone, as if all Russia's neighbours should be thankful about all the opportunities they got. The description of the Russian ethnic groups and culture and that of the other nationalities clearly show the strong Russo-centredness of the textbook:

...at the dawn of the Kievan Rus, its neighbors were Khazar and Bulgar kingdoms. Later, after the collapse of the Golden Horde, there were the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanate, who profited from the bustling trade with the nascent Russian state. After the annexation of these khanates to Russia, at the end of the 16th century, the first Russian defensive strongholds are emerging (Ibid., p. 162).

About Tatar culture in the region, the largest ethnic minority of Russia, just a few lines are spent, and only the Tatar language and multi-linguicism is mentioned. The other minorities from neighbouring republics are largely ignored:

The city [Kazan, JCB] is becoming one of the largest centres of higher education (more than 15 universities). Think of Kazan as a cultural centre, for "maintenance" of the whole Tatar population of Russia and the CIS. Publishing of literature in the Tatar language, radio and television broadcasting, the preparation of language and literature teachers for Tatar schools - Kazan provides all these for other regions in Russia, where the Tatars live (Ibid., p. 164).

The Russian south, the Caucasus region, Alekseev et al. mention their characteristics and the economic activity in the different ethnic republics. There is little to no attention for the cultural diversity and political troubles in the North-Caucasus. Instead, the authors describe one thing that all north Caucasus people have, respect for the elderly, something the authors clearly love:

A feature of the culture of the peoples of the Caucasus is respectful attitude to the elders, to all people of old age. No one even thinks of sending a helpless old man or woman in a nursing home - such institutions are simply not needed in the republics of the Caucasus. In the event of any conflict between families, clans, villages and even between peoples, to resolve them, the most respected elders are called, and the decision of the Council of Elders is unquestioningly followed and everyone is satisfied. Dagestan is one of the last places in terms of living standards of the regions of the Russian Federation. And by life expectancy, the first place! This is further evidence that the main factors of health are the way of life and the relationship between people, and not at all the volume of consumed goods. (Ibid., p. 176).

The authors do not mention here that besides Dagestan and other Northern Caucasian republics, which indeed do have a high life expectancy for Russian standards, life expectancy in the economically most developed regions Moscow and St. Petersburg is equally high (Rosstat, 2017). It appears as if the authors are deliberately looking to write as positively as possible about this Russian region, possibly to try to counter negative stereotypes about the different North Caucasus republics (in particular Chechnya) that are widespread in Russia (Foxall, 2010; Russell, 2002).

About the Asian part of Russia, Alekseev et al. give a very thorough description, focusing just like Dronov & Rom on the vastness of the territory and its huge amount of natural resources, although Alekseev et al. are much more critical about the future exploitation of these resources. In terms of ethnic minorities, the authors describe the Buryat people in Siberia for example:

Buryats in their number (up to 250 000), occupy an important place among the peoples of Siberia. Their appearance resembles the Mongols. Buryats in villages live in octagonal huts, but many like to live in felt tents. Inside they decorate the houses with weapons and expensive clothes. By character, Buryats are very good-natured, intelligent and hardworking; they have preserved the patriarchal life of nomadic tribes. The main occupation is the breeding of horses and cattle, in addition, they are engaged in hunting, fishing, and some have become quite settled and successfully engaged in farming. Buryats are remarkably vigilant and accurate in shooting: they form the core of Siberian cavalry detachments (Alekseev et al., 2011, p. 212).



Рис. 120. Автомат Калашникова — самое известное в мире изделие уральских заводов (г. Ижевск)

Figure 5.12 Avtomat Kalashnikov. Praised as being worldwide “the most famous product originating from the Ural region factories (from the city of Izhevsk)”. On the right: Michail T. Kalashnikov.
Source: Alekseev et al., p. 191.

About Siberian people in general, the following remarks are made:

Before the beginning of the mass agrarian settlement at the beginning of the 20th century, in Siberia there was a specific type of population. This is how ethnographers described it: The constant struggle with the harsh nature has developed in Siberia a resilience of character, enterprising, smart and practical. Absence of serfdom allowed him to develop independence. The oppression of officials, acting absolutely autocratic in this remote outskirts of Russia, contributed to the development of a remarkable ability to adapt to these conditions, and made him secretive and distrustful (Ibid., p. 213).

Again here a geographical deterministic description of the “people’s character” can be seen, as was the case with the description of the character of the Russians before.

About Siberia as a raw material producing region, the authors are much less optimistic than the other textbook authors, as they see not too much future in the continued exploitation of the nature over there, whereas the others describe the natural resources and their potential for economic development in superlatives.

What conclusion can be drawn from a review of the economic history of Siberia? In each of the development stages, Siberia served as a supplier of raw materials and a source of income for Russia. At first it was furs, then silver and gold, butter and grain, coal and steel, and in our time wood and pulp, oil and gas, aluminium and nickel. And some of these resources are already largely exhausted: Fur, silver, gold and timber has become much less. Therefore further development of Siberia only as a "raw material appendage" of the country is threatening to exhaust the seemingly unlimited resources (Ibid., p. 218).

The last region that is covered in textbook 2 is the Russian Far East, which has a lot of border issues with the neighbours, among others Japan:

According to the Portsmouth Peace Treaty of 1905, signed after the unsuccessful Russian-Japanese War (which put the conditions of the beginning of the Russian revolution in place), the southern part of Sakhalin (up to the 50th parallel) was ceded to Japan. Finally, after the end of the war in 1945, the South Sakhalin again came to the USSR, as well as this time all of the Kuril Islands. But no peace treaty with Japan is signed until now, because Japan disputes the entry into the USSR (and now Russia) of the southern part of the Kuril Islands (Ibid., p. 246).

Alekseev et al. even go so far as to describe the geopolitical situation in the Russian Far East as threatening, because of the large population of China. Also here a nationalist message can be observed, based on what both Anderson and Hobsbawm describe as the formation of a common outside "enemy" or at least rival:

The current population of China is about 1.3 billion people, and by the middle of the 21st century it is likely to increase to 1.4-1.5 billion. The entire population of Russia now is about 140 million people, that is, a magnitude smaller and in the coming decades it will decrease further. And on the Far East only 7 million people live. "Demographic pressure" of overpopulated China on a very poorly populated Far East is already very large, and in the future will grow even more (Ibid., p. 247).

It is interesting to note how the authors discuss about the different ethnic minorities of the Far East, as compared to how the Russians could become pushed away by the Chinese in the Far East as well. They discuss the very concept of indigenous people, which is interesting to notice, also the patriotic Russo-centred message in it:

...the ancestors of modern Evenks [one of the minority peoples in the Far East, JCB] appeared on this territory only in the first centuries AD (and together with them reindeer herding appeared here). So, who can we call the indigenous population of Yakutia? Evenks, settled here about 2000 years ago, Yakuts, migrating here 500-1000 years ago, or Russian, who started the settlements and cities in this territory 350 years ago? Apparently, the very concept of "indigenous people" is rather arbitrary (Ibid., p. 256).

The last section of the book is a short conclusion part about Russia's place in the world. The authors write that Russia throughout the centuries is internationally strong after being victorious in large wars, but cannot keep this privileged position, because the external issues overstrain the countries forces, again an issue of externalization of negative issues, as discussed by Hobsbawm as being characteristic of patriotism:

Politically, Russia was most of the time "isolationistic", and then suddenly sharply expanded its sphere of influence. Russia has the greatest influence on world affairs after victorious wars - 1812, culminating in the capture of Paris, and the Great Patriotic War, which ended with the capture of Berlin. However, in both cases it ultimately ended in failure (in the middle of the 19th century - defeat in the Crimean War, and in 1991 - the collapse of the USSR),

followed by a period of reform and internal reorganization of our country. Apparently, excessive expansion of the zone of influence, infatuation with external problems, means a weakening of attention for the internal affairs and overstrains the country's forces. It slows down its development and results in a crisis. In the current period, when Russia lost its significance as "world superpower", it is important first of all to solve our own internal problems (Ibid., p. 268).

Part of the last section of the book, is the part where the authors argue how important it is to learn geography, as it is the key to being a good citizen (or as Anderson would put it, become a member of an imagined community):

For a Russian citizen, of course, the most important thing is to know his native country well, understand it, and be able to explain what is happening in it. (...) Huge differences within Russia exist: the lives of people in the north and south, in the capital and in the remote rural areas can be quite unlike. Russia is a single, but very diverse country. This diversity of nature, people, economy and culture makes our country richer, its economy is more sustainable, but at the same time requires people to have knowledge of geography in order to act in each place in accordance with these diverse conditions. Only a person, well knowing geography, can make the right decisions about our Motherland, the land, which we inherited from our ancestors, about how we could in a better way pass it on to our descendants (Ibid., p. 270).

After quoting an 18th century poem, Alekseev et al. conclude the book with the following statement:

Of course much has changed since the great 18th century in our land. But our Motherland, she is still great and plentiful. Many generations of our ancestors decorated it - with new cities and villages, churches and palaces. They have many times expanded our country, made it the largest in the world. Your generation is only one of the links in an endless chain connecting past and future. As a legacy from your ancestors you received a great country, beautiful and rich. And your task is to pass onto your descendants an even more rich and beautiful one. This is for you to do - young citizens of Russia! (Ibid., p. 271)

Of all analysed textbooks, textbook number 2 is by far the most openly promoting nation-building and patriotism. The praise and superlatives about Russia are apparent throughout the book, of which some of these have been quoted in this section. In the book is written that ethnic diversity and tolerance in Russia is one of the country's characteristics and strong points, even anchored in the constitution. When reading the book however, as can be seen by several quotes in this section, it

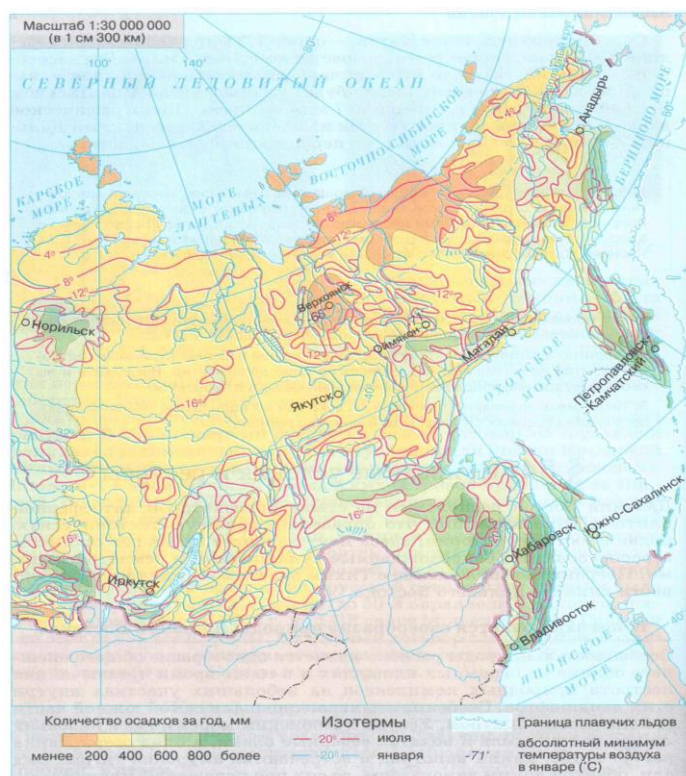


Figure 5.13 Map of precipitation in the Russian Far East. Compared to the other textbooks, Alekseev et al. have a significantly lower number of maps.

Source: Alekseev et al., p. 248

turns out that the book is strongly Russo-centric, in the sense of putting virtually all attention on the Russian ethnic group and their cultural, economic and political achievements in the country.

Textbook 3: Geography of Russia, economy and regions

The authors of textbook 3, Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova, have a strong focus on economic geography, and describe in detail about economic issues and industrial production in every region of the country. As general conclusion, they consider the economic situation in Russia as lagging behind of the rest of the world. However, they stress extensively the strong potential for economic development of Russia. The authors describe the development of Russia as complex, some parts of the country are as they call it on the first or second stages of development (pre-industrial, industrial) and some parts are developed more and have a more strongly developed tertiary and quaternary sector (Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova, 2013, p. 6). Quite some attention is given to N.D. Kondratieff, who developed the theory of different waves / cycles of economic development. Kondratieff is described as a Russian scientist (one could argue that he was actually belonging to the Komi minority, but the authors do not mention this). Interestingly, Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova describe regional geography (especially the division and study of the territory in natural geographic zones) as a Russian invention, as they write:

Russia can be called the birthplace of regional geographical sciences, because the scientists of our country started to do fundamental scientific research on regions. First publications on development of regional physical geography and economic regionalization of the territory of Russia are from the second half of the 18th century. In the 19th and 20th centuries, natural zoning of the country and its descriptions are the area of work of V.V. Dokuchaev, G.I. Tanfilyev, P.P. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, L.S. Berg, V.B. Sochava, I.P. Gerasimov, A.A. Grigoryev and other famous scientists. Research in the field of economic zoning had special attention in the twentieth century. Famous names are N.N. Baransky, N.N. Kolosovsky, Yu.G. Sauskhina, E.B. Alaeva and other economical geographers (Ibid., p. 135).

Since the textbook is strongly focused on economy, it is maybe the least patriotic of all analysed methods, even though also here in this book a lot of attention is paid to the vastness of the country and its huge reserves of natural resources, which should invoke feelings of national pride among the students (see figures 5.15 and 5.17 for examples of illustrations about the “wealth of resources” as discussed in the book).

The authors begin the first part of the book, the part about Russia’s place in the world, from a historical perspective, by providing an overview of the long term economic development of Russia. In terms of the economy of the 19th century, they remark that:

In terms of production of industrial goods, Russia took the fifth place in the world, but in agricultural products the third. In world exports wheat and rye the market share of Russia was about 30%, of barley - 70, eggs – 50 and flax - 80%. However, in the exports of Russia, raw materials prevailed, and in imports the industrial and consumer goods (Ibid., p. 12).

The authors comment on the collapse of the Soviet Union as one of the consequences of the ending of a Kondratieff cycle combined with the inefficiency of the planned economy, which they describe as a strong system during wars but not in peacetime. They describe the late 20th century developments and failure of the planned economy as follows:

The situation in the rural economy was difficult: the proportion of people employed in it was declining, and labour productivity grew only slowly. In the second half of the twentieth century, more and more grain and food products for the USSR needed to be bought abroad. The first achievements of the scientific and technological revolution (the introduction of computers, microelectronics and the creation of new materials) found its application only in

the military industry of the USSR and have negatively affected the main branches of the civil economy. People lacked the most necessary goods and services. However, some industries, as well as science, technology and education were at a high level. As a consequence, at the end of the twentieth century, the economy of the USSR entered a period of crisis (Ibid., p. 15).

Another reason for the economic decline of the Russian Federation in the 1990s is the break-up of the USSR and subsequent loss of access to several supplying industries, a point of view shared by the authors of the other textbooks:

a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, partners of specialized combines and other enterprises in the Russian Federation were in regions that were now abroad, which led to the rupture of many industrial ties and caused the fall of the production of a number of industries (Ibid., p. 19).

The second part of the book deals with the different industrial complexes in great detail, about the necessary resources and locational factors. In this part there is also attention for the ecological situation of Russia as a whole. The authors write about the largest ecological problems, ranging from nuclear pollution to land degradation and negative consequences of hydro dams. Interestingly, unlike the other textbooks, ecological problems are not externalized. In several pages the authors lament about the damages to the environment throughout Russia. Although, they also do see some hopeful signs:

However, our country has the largest areas in the world with natural complexes which are only little changed by human activities. They make up more than 40% of the country's territory (forests, marshes, ponds, etc.). The ecologically safe regions include the Russian North (except for the Murmansk region), most of Siberia and the Russian Far East (except in the vicinity of industrial centres). This is a huge reserve for the development of the country, because, according to scientists, in the 21st century it will be primal nature which will determine the world status of the powers. In the near future, untapped nature resources will become one of the main strategic resources of Russia (Ibid., p. 131).

In this quote, a strong patriotic and nation building message is brought forward, one of the kind described by Anderson, as being connected with struggles in the present time, but with the prediction of a better future ahead, provided the right steps are taken.

The third part of the book is just like the other textbooks dedicated to the regional geography of Russia. Russia is divided into several macro-regions, of which the most important one is the Central Russian macro-region. This is the region in which Moscow is located, but it also reaches towards the western border of the country (Belarus / Ukraine). Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova explain why this western region of the country is called Central Russia, and they use a different explanation as Alekseev et al. used in their book, not about “lost western lands”, but instead because of the location of the central government in this macro-region:

The natural and economic region 1 “Central Russia” is called so not by location (in reality the region is located in the west of the country), but for historical reasons: here was born Russia's centralized state. The capital of Russia is Moscow, which always played the role of the center of the country (political, religious, cultural, commercial and industrial). The geographical center of the country is a place equidistant from borders. The geographical center of Russia is located in Eastern Siberia (in the Middle Siberian plateau) (Ibid., p. 147).

The Russian national character is determined by the natural conditions, Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova use apparently the same source as Alekseev et al., as the description of the influence of the natural environment on the Russian character is almost identical, and also an example of geographical determinism (see also the section of the book of Alekseev et al. for more details):

Features of the Russian Plain have influenced the formation of the national Russian character. Combating unfavorable natural conditions made Russian people hardy, hard-working, sensitive and energetic. Seasonality of agricultural work has determined the special rhythm of life of the population. A short summer with unstable weather forced them to work quickly and together. In the cold period of the year, people who were free from the fieldwork had the opportunity to engage in a variety of crafts (Ibid., p. 155).

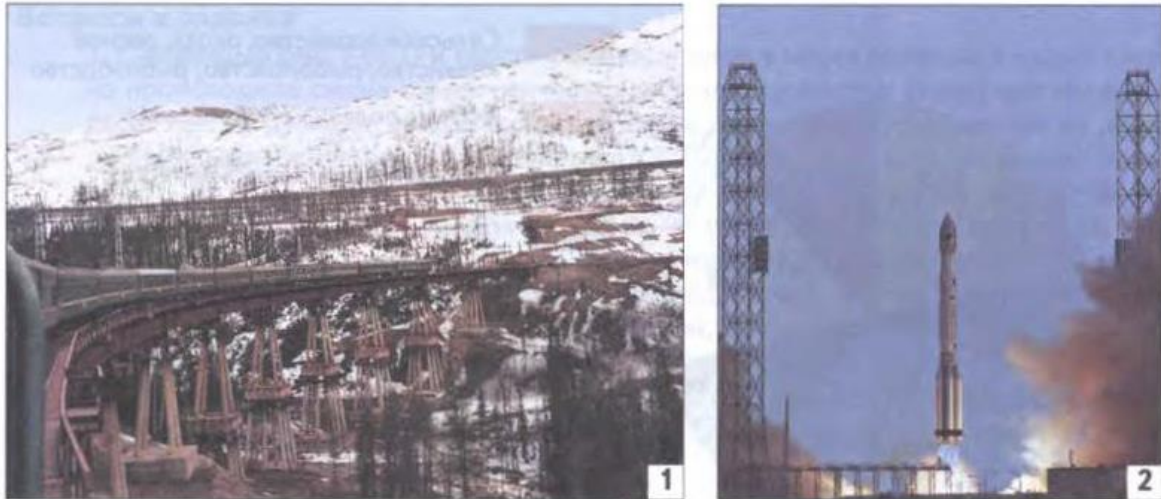


Рис. 11. 1 — Байкало-Амурская магистраль, «Чёртов мост»; 2 — Байконур. Запуск космического корабля

Figure 5.14 Russian technological achievements. Left: Baikal Amur Magistrale railroad. Right: Space flight at Bajkonur. Source: Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova, p. 15

The Russian European north macro-region is ecologically challenged, because of the deposits of acid rain from Europe according to the authors. This is a surprising change in the narrative, as in previous sections, the ecological problems were not externalized. In any case, the text on acid rain bears great resemblance with the text of Dronov & Rom about this issue, and brings some questions about the actuality of the information provided in both books, as this was a problem that used to be actual in the 1980s and 1990s:

The ecological and geographical location of the European North is complicated: It is very unfavorable for the Murmansk region, where civil industrial enterprises are located. Air masses from abroad, from Western European countries, deposit acid rain across the region. The seas in the North are adversely affected by nuclear submarines, boats and sea vessels, as well as the burial of spent fuel from nuclear reactors. The North West Gulfstream current brings polluted waters from the North Atlantic to Russia. The European North is a district of disagreements (Ibid., p. 167).

Immediately the authors continue about the strong military power of the region, which will make sure the military integrity of the country is not in question:

In the North are important naval bases of the Northern Fleet. Here are based strong nuclear submarines, the largest aircraft-carrying cruiser of Russia "Admiral Kuznetsov", and powerful

aviation. Near the town of Mirny the largest military spaceport "Plisetsk" is located, from which space satellites and military rockets can be launched (*Ibid.*, p. 167).



Рис. 19. Нефтяная промышленность России

Figure 5.15 Map of Russian oilfields
 Source: Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova, p. 29

As mentioned before, Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova focus on economic issues in their book. They write in great details about the immense amount of natural resources, something to be proud of. Even though these messages are factual on the surface, this deeper layer of nation building issues should not be underestimated, as they argue earlier in the book that the resource bearing nations will be the leading nations of the 21st century. The European north macro-region of Russia is described as one of the best places for finding raw materials, an example of how they describe different regions within Russia's European North:

*The main wealth of the Khibiny Mountains [south of Murmansk, JCB] are apatite and nepheline ores. Here is 72% of the national reserves and almost 100% of the extraction of these takes place here. Apatites are the most valuable raw materials for the production of phosphorus fertilizers. On the Kola Peninsula also rich deposits of copper-nickel-cobalt ores can be found as well as deposits of rare-earth elements, including cesium and tantalum. Large reserves of raw materials for the production of aluminum (kyanite) have been discovered, a discovery of world significance. On the Kola Peninsula and in Karelia there are large reserves of iron ore. The iron ores of the Russian European North have a low content of iron, but they do not contain harmful impurities, which makes it possible to obtain high-quality metal. In the Kolyo-Karelian subarea, large reserves of various types of mica exist. South Karelia is rich in valuable building and facing stones (marble, granite), which are used to create monuments and building facades as well as the construction of many metro stations in Moscow and St. Petersburg (*Ibid.*, pp. 167-168).*

The authors describe the ancient history of the Northwest region, and write about the Novgorod republic, but no specific mentioning of Kievan Rus, of which it was a subject:

Trade routes were used already in the times of the ancient Rus people, their centers the cities of Pskov and Novgorod, and the Novgorod Rus state was formed here. Particular important among the cities was Novgorod (first mentioned in 859). In the 11th century, the Novgorod Republic consisted of a huge territory: from the Baltic Sea to Polar Urals, from the Kola Peninsula to the Upper Volga. It was a free city and cooperated with the famous Hanseatic League - the political-trade alliance of Northern Germany. In Novgorod and in Pskov were offices of the Hansa. Novgorod was distinguished by a high literacy, skilled artisans, builders and artists. Pskov (first mentioned in 903) like Novgorod, was rich in the trade of the north and the south (Ibid., p. 192).

In the description of the northwest macro-region, Kaliningrad stands out. It is described as an “integral part” of the Russian territories, following the decisions at Yalta in 1945. Some issues on population are described in more detail:

After 1945 there was not only a change in names of cities and other geographical objects of the Kaliningrad area, but also a new population. The entire German population was deported to Germany, and the region was again populated with relatively young people (which is typical for migrants) from the interior of the USSR (Ibid., p. 193).

Regarding the current situation with minorities in the Russian northwest macro-region, Tamozhnaya and Tolkunova make an interesting observation, stating that the German government offered subsidies in the 1990s to Germans to relocate to Kaliningrad, however this information could not be confirmed from any available other sources. Nowhere something is mentioned about Germans settling in Kaliningrad with subsidies from the German government. It is well-known that there were a lot of ethnic Germans from Russia & other former Soviet Union republics who moved to Germany in the 1990s, but not from Kaliningrad as these were already deported in 1945 (Dietz, 2000; Münz & Ohliger, 2001). This is what Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova write about it:

The population of the North-West is multinational, but in all its sub-regions there is a strong dominance of the Russian population. Indigenous Finno-Ugric peoples (Veps, Izhors, etc.) were almost completely assimilated, which was facilitated by both their initially small number and long-standing spread of the Russian Orthodox Church. In St. Petersburg, as in any major city with a strong immigration, during the influx of many decades, now there are numerous Diasporas of the peoples of the entire former USSR: Ukrainian, Tatar, Jewish, Estonian, Tajik, etc. During the 1990s, a small number of Germans moved to the Kaliningrad Region, from other regions Russia and the CIS countries. This was because there were special programs of the government of Germany, aimed at helping to resettle Germans in this region (Ibid., p. 195).

Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova don't write a lot of details about the different ethnic minorities of Russia, about the minorities of the Volga region for example, they make only a very brief description:

In the Volga region, the landless peasants from southern Germany, which settled mainly in the Saratov area. Geographical location and long-term history of the settlement of the territory was determined by the complex ethnic composition of the population. In the north of the district, except Turkic-speaking Tatars, significant shares of the Mordva (Finno-Ugric language group) and Chuvash (the Turkic group) live. In the south of the Volga region, besides the Kalmyks (Mongolian language group), there are also Turkic-speaking Kazakhs and representatives of the North Caucasian peoples. At present, Russians dominate all regions (70% of the population), except for the Kalmykia and Tatarstan republics (Ibid., p. p. 211).

The southern macro-region gets quite some attention, the authors write here – as exception – rather extensively about the multi-cultural history of the region, like for example here:

The territory of the European South is rich in cultural and historical monuments. Here you can see Scythian mounds and Caucasian dolmens, ruins of ancient and medieval cities, towers and fortress walls of mountain settlements, Christian and Muslim temples, Cossack villages and the ancient quarters of Russian cities. Many works of art, found by archaeologists, are exhibited in Russian museums, including in the Hermitage (Ibid., p. 224).

The description about the population and its history is immediately followed by alarming news about the ecological situation in the south and the large pollution by especially the mining industries in this region and unlike many of the other textbooks, the causes for these environmental problems are described as being present in Russia itself and not coming from “outside winds / gulfstream” or so-called “adaptation problems because of Soviet heritage”:

Unfortunately, the nature of the European South has been greatly affected by economic activity. The most unfavorable environmental situation has developed in the Krasnodar Territory, which occupies the first place in Russia in terms of the amount of wastewater discharged without any cleaning. Great harm to the people is caused by mining and industrial enterprises, especially chemical and petrochemical, polluting air, rivers and groundwater. Strongly polluted are the water areas of sea ports, with spills of oil products (Novorossiysk, Tuapse, Yeysk) (Ibid., p. 225).

About the people of the south of Russia, the authors mention that the Russian government made the problems of living together between different minorities more complicated by its policies, when comparing this part with the book of Alekseev et al., it gives a complete different picture about the region:

The authorities of the Russian Empire for decades have endlessly tried to find a solution to the ethnic problems of the North Caucasus. In the Soviet period, there were a number of unsuccessful administrative attempts of territorial division of the region, based on the prevalence of a certain ethnic minority (which is not possible in such a multinational region). These factors, combined with socio-economic and political considerations, have led to exacerbation of the contradictions between the peoples of the South (Ibid., p. 228).

Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova do criticize past government policies here and there somewhat cryptic description can be understood with the attempt of Stalin in the 1920s to put two or three titular nationalities together in one autonomous republic, for example Karachai and Cherkessians, Kabardins and Balkarians, Ingush and Chechen, and so on. Stalin (correctly) expected that in the semi-tribal North Caucasus, the different ethnic groups in each Republic would mostly pick on each other instead of on the federal Soviet government in Moscow (Marshall, 2010, p. 217) and a situation of “divide and rule” would be the reality. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, most of the autonomous republics remained intact, except for the Ingush-Chechen autonomous republic, which was split in 1992. Even though the situation in terms of environmental situation is described as troubled in general for the Russian south, and the situation with the peoples of the North Caucasus is described as quite tense, difficult and full of conflict, the authors are all of a sudden remarkably positive about the city Kislovodsk, a holiday spa-resort in the Stavropol region in Russia:

Kislovodsk is the most beautiful and most well-equipped resort having the Caucasus Mineral Waters. It is located in a valley surrounded by slopes of the main Caucasian ridge. Sandy cretaceous mountains surrounding Kislovodsk, are very beautiful and form numerous terraces with deep caves and grottos. In Kislovodsk 120 thousand people live, but there is no shortage of space in its streets or noise even at the height of the holiday season. The city is famous not only for its medicinal waters, but also for its wonderful climate. Decoration and

pride of Kislovodsk is its resort park, in which more than 250 species of trees and bushes can be found, as well as ornamental plants in greenhouses (Ibid., p. 233).

The description of Asian Russia is quite similar to the book of Dronov & Rom, with a strong focus on the material resources and predominantly factual description of the nature and natural resources. About the Russian Far East, Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova write some thoughts related to its neighbors, but not so detailed as Alekseev et al. Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova do mention about the territorial disputes with Japan however:

The nearest neighbors of the Far East in the Asian Pacific region are the USA (Alaska) in the northeast and China, North Korea and Japan in the southeast. Such neighborhood can have favorable influence on the development of the region, as these countries have a high level of economic development and from there one can expect inflow of investments into the growing economy of the Far East. Besides, Japan and China lack the many resources available in the Asian part of Russia. However, contacts between Russia and Japan are complicated by territorial claims of the Japanese side to the group of our Kuril Islands. The Far East has great geopolitical significance for our country. Here the Pacific navy is based, to protect interests of Russia in the Pacific basin (Ibid., p. 321).

There is no mentioning of a rivalry with China and a demographic pressure from this country into the Russian Far East, as was mentioned in Alexeev et al.



Рис. 194. Экономика Дальневосточного природно-хозяйственного региона

Figure 5.16 Map of economic activities in the Russian Far East. Note the complete absence of neighbouring countries, except for the Japanese island of Hokkaido. Raw materials and energy dominate the economic activities.

Source: Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova, p. 335

As in most other textbooks, the last part of the book is a sort of conclusion part about Russia's place in the world. Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova draw the conclusion that Russia is a semi-periphery country, although they remain (deliberately?) vague about which reasons there are why Russia is not able to move forward to the group of most advanced nations:

The place of Russia in international trade, and the standard of living of its population indicate that our country occupies an "intermediate" position in the world. Russia is located in the "semi-periphery". It has already entered the complete stage of industrialization (with the exception of the most remote regions), has a huge scientific and technical potential, significant military-industrial complex, which developed the latest technology. It has a great natural resource potential. The economic development of the Moscow, St. Petersburg and other agglomerations is approaching the post-industrial stage. However, a number of socio-economic problems do not yet allow our country to catch up with the economically developed countries of the world - the centers of the post-industrial economy (the USA, EU countries, Japan), which currently determine the course of world development. At the same time, Russia is far ahead of the countries of the "periphery" - the poorest countries that, as a rule, are in debt, and are using external loans. In these countries are many economic, social, demographic, environmental problems and armed ethnic conflicts (Ibid., p. 345).

Even though the economic development of Russia in comparison with Western Europe, the USA and Japan might be lagging behind, they proudly write about the development of Russia in the past. The authors describe also that some new ways have to be found to move forward in the 21st century, because the traditional "colonization of the wilderness" model for Siberia and the Far East do not seem to work effectively anymore:

In nearly 500 years, Russia developed from a small principedom in a huge country, the largest state in the world. As the new territories joined Russia, they were settled and economic development happened. Over time, grass and broadleaf forests turned into trees and gardens. In the Far North next to the mineral deposits, towns were built. On the coast of the seas and oceans sea ports appeared. Transport roads and lines of communication through the endless steppes of Russia. Back in the 1970s and 1980s, it seemed that the development of new territories rich in natural resources would reach new levels, by then the most important development strategy of the country, the main increase in her wealth and power. However, the situation in Russia at the beginning of the 21st century, indicates that the previous model, the centuries-old movement of development does not meet the requirements of the time (Ibid., p. 341).

As suggestion for direction of development that do meet the "requirements of the time", the authors propose that Russia should implement measures like the formation of Special Economic Zones to attract foreign innovative businesses without too much bureaucracy. Support of entrepreneurship is another method proposed, as well as more focused investments in infrastructure and attraction of foreign capital by making the establishment of joint ventures easier.

Of all textbooks this textbook 3 is probably the least outspoken in terms of nation-building. Of course very much still depends on the individual teacher in terms of what is actually taught during class and on which issues he or she focuses the attention. The strong focus on natural resources and the superlatives used in these descriptions (not limited this exact textbook) provides some evidence that feelings of patriotism are also tried to be created and nurtured in this way.



Рис. 133. 1 — магнитный железняк; 2 — медный колчедан; 3 — изделие из уральских драгоценных камней

Figure 5.17 Different types of ore found in the Urals region. Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova discuss extensively the great wealth in natural resources in different regions, showing the “potential” of Russia.

Source: Tamozhnaya & Tolkunova, p. 240

Textbook 4: “Geography of Russia”

The 4th textbook is that of N.N. Petrova, with the title Geography of Russia. This book is just like the previous three books about the history and geography of Russia, but with a focus on the 8th grade geography, about the geography of Russia as a whole. Many issues are on methodical and physical aspects of geography like time zones, map projections, latitude / longitude and the natural zones of Russia in general.

Some of the issues that are dealt with in the book is the so-called “political map”. Petrova mentions that during the Czarist times, no ethnic republics existed:

If you look at the political and administrative map of the Russian Empire of 1914, then you can see that Russia was not divided in national-territorial entities, as it is now. It consisted of 21 regions, 2 districts and 78 provinces, which bore the names of city centers, for example, Minsk province, Moscow province, Sukhumi district, Batumi region. (...) Pay attention that on the political and administrative map of the Russian Empire, you practically could not see the nationality of a territory (Petrova, 2007, p. 11).

Petrova further argues that the current territorial division into single-ethnic republics has some undesirable consequences for the stability of the country:

Many domestic politicians are not without justification criticizing the modern national-territorial division of the country that promotes national and religious separatism, an example of which is the Northern Caucasus. They propose to withdraw from the national-territorial division (Ibid., p. 11).

The interesting issue in the Northern Caucasus is actually that in most republics there were multiple titular ethnic groups, although it might also be that Petrova specifically has Chechnya in mind, which is the only republic where, after the split with Ingushetia in 1992, there is an almost mono-ethnic territorial division.

The political map of Russia is also about the northern borders of the country, which is in fact the Arctic Ocean. Because of rich natural resources, and the large continental shelf (which is considered part of Russia’s land mass by Petrova), she claims that Russia has a solid base in international law to extend its influence further than the normally applicable 200 mile zone:

The uniqueness of the Arctic shelf lies in the fact that it is considerably wider than the 200-mile zone, and in the World Oceans such a phenomenon is nowhere observed. Thus, Russia has a basis for expanding its current holdings to the north by more than a million square kilometers. Nor should we forget that the Russian Arctic shelf has innumerable oil and gas reserves, which are already being looked at by the neighboring countries (Ibid., p. 16).

It is interesting to note that this legal political debate about the 200 mile exclusive economic zone in the Arctic Ocean is put in a textbook for 13 to 14 year old schoolchildren. Nonetheless, Petrova argues that there is considerable haste with this question and that it is of great importance. She discusses the Russian Arctic undersea exploration of the Lomonosov Ridge and submission of the proposal to the UN committee to increase the continental shelf of the Arctic Ocean with the ridge, so that the exclusive economic zone of Russia in the Arctic would substantially increase, all the way to the North Pole:

It is naive to think that ice sheets will cool the interest of foreign companies to the Russian Arctic shelf. The US oil companies, for example, have already started exploratory work in the Chukchi Sea, where they find rich oil and gas deposits. (...) Now, to the world the results of scientific research of Russian expeditions have been presented, which are difficult to argue with and most importantly, which confirm the boundary of the Arctic shelf zone and our legal rights to it. The question remains open if Russia manages to defend its rights in the Arctic, this will be the most important victory of the national diplomacy in our times (Ibid., p. 17).

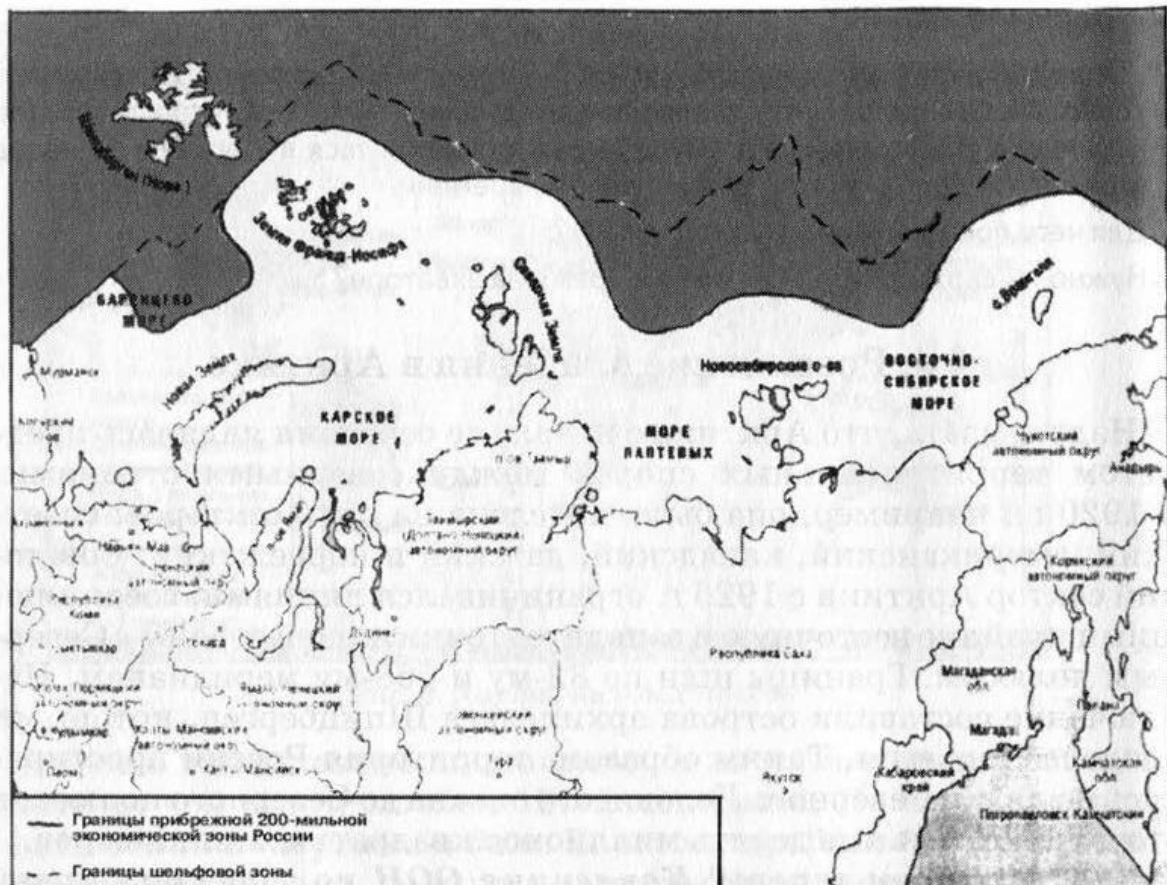


Рис. 4. Российские владения в Северном Ледовитом океане

Figure 5.18 Russia and the Arctic ocean. The white areas show the 200 mile zones into the ocean as accepted in international law. Petrova however argues that the border should be 200 miles away from the border of the continental shelf (indicated by the dashed line)

Source: Petrova, p. 16

Part of the 8th grade curriculum is about the growth of the Russian state and its territories throughout the centuries. Petrova writes about the development of Russia as a state and the growth of the Russian state and territory in her book. She writes about the period of Peter I, as a Golden Era of Russia. She remarks among others about the Russian voyages of discovery:

In connection with Peter's acceptance of the title of emperor in 1721, the Russian state received the official name "Russian empire". Russia began actively expanding its borders to the north, south, west and east. The development of new lands began. If the Portuguese sailors of the era of the great geographic discoveries were called the captains of Prince Henry, then the Russian sailors can rightfully be called the captains of Peter I: He created the Russian fleet and organized explorations (Ibid., p. 21).

Petrova mentions nothing about the previous inhabitants of the lands that were explored and whereto the borders were expanded. From the text it appears as if these lands were pristine wildernesses, waiting for development, which is obviously not correct, but fits well within the dominant Russian national narrative. Besides this, the "Russian explorers" as described by Petrova heavily relied on foreigners to guide them, the most well-known of them was the Danish captain Vitus Bering (Lauridsen & Olson, 2011, p. 26). As can be seen in chapter 3 of this study, the description of Golden Ages is a typical occurrence in nationalist thought about the past. In comparison with the previous quote, one can look at the way Petrova writes about the current times, with consequences of the breakup of the Former Soviet Union and the loss of communist multi-ethnic policies:

The growing importance of national identity among minorities is mainly due to political processes, the disintegration of the multinational state and the world socialist system. In many former Soviet republics, communist ideology is replaced by a religious ideology that is widely spread among the population against the background of political, social and economic instability of society. The national composition of the population of Russia is very complex. More than 130 peoples and nationalities live in this territory. The most numerous of them are Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians, Chuvashs, Bashkirs (Petrova, 2007, p. 37).

Petrova writes about the national consciousness of Russian nationalities, and that these are mainly based on the language that one speaks. She then divides Russians into different language groups:

An interesting phenomenon of Russian consciousness for example, is the fact that main reason for a certain national belonging of a person in Russia is primarily the language. According to their language, the peoples of Russia are divided into several groups. The peoples of the Slavic group (Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Poles) and the Finno-Ugrian group (Karelians, Mordva, Udmurts, Mari, Komi, Komi-Permyaks) are the oldest inhabitants of Russia. Numerous Turkic peoples (Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvashs, Altaians, Yakuts), as well as the Nakh-Daghistani group (Avars, Lezgins, Chechens, Ingushs) are also present. The Mongolian group of peoples are represented in Russia by Kalmykians and Buryats. Koryaks, Nenets, Eve, Khanty, Mansi, Evenki, Chukchi belong to the peoples of the North. Ossetians, Jews, and Germans are also quite numerous in Russia (Ibid., p. 39).

Petrova proposes to learn about the history and also the natural conditions of the region in which specific ethnic minorities live, in order to understand their culture (this is a thought based on the ideas of Gumilyov and other geographical determinists like Plekhanov):

In order to understand the specific features of this or that people, to understand its identity, it is useful to get acquainted, even in the most general terms, with the natural and historical conditions of the formation and development of that people (Ibid., p. 40).

In the history of Russia itself, the division between the Slavic people occurred because of the Tatar-Mongol invasion, leading to three distinct Eastern Slavic nations:

The Mongol-Tatar invasion (XIII-XIV centuries) dealt a heavy blow to the Slavic culture. The cities were destroyed, the people were exterminated and the churches were destroyed. As a result, the lands of Rus entered various state entities, and differences in culture and language between the Great Russian, Ukrainian (Little Russian) and Byelorussian peoples appeared (Ibid., p. 43).

Petrova deliberately speaks about Byelorussians, instead of Belarusians as they prefer to call themselves, in order to indicate the in Russia popular idea of three separate branches of Russian people instead of a much older cultural division already present during the period of Kievan Rus (Goble, 2014; Plokh, 2006, p. 6). See for more in-depth information also Chapter 4.2.

In the chapter on the population of Russia, when discussing the demographic situation, Petrova is very concerned about the future of Russia, as she notes:

The demographic situation in Russia is catastrophic, demographic experts compare it with periods of famine and wars in the history of our state. They do have some common features, namely: a sharp decline in the population; high mortality rates of the population of the average, able-bodied age; high mortality rates among men; high mortality from external causes, including murders, suicides, poisoning, drug use, or as a result of military operations; influx of refugee immigrants from the republics of the former USSR (Ibid., p. 59).

It is a remarkable statement, as in 2007 when she wrote this book, the worst problems in the country which she mentions above were already over for several years. Nonetheless, Petrova continues:

The death rate from all external causes in Russia exceeded in the 90s the average European indicator about 6 times: killings - 30 times higher, suicides - 4 times higher and traffic accidents - 2 times higher. The economic crisis in the country led to a demographic crisis in our country (Ibid., p. 61).

It is interesting to observe that Petrova mainly discusses things about the population that were actual in the 1990s, and doesn't comment on any newer development in the 2000s. Petrova continues to write about the development of the population and writes about the growth of the population, something that was happening only because of the repatriation of Russians from other former Soviet Republics, a process which also mostly occurred in the 1990s:

Growth in the population of Russia is currently largely due to the influx of immigrant refugees from the former Soviet republics (...) Repatriation is defined as the process of returning emigrants to their homeland with the restoration of their rights in citizenship. Repatriation in the present period is of a persistent and compulsory nature and is influenced by ethnic discrimination or human rights violations in the republics of the former USSR, manifested in the restriction of the Russian population in civil and political rights, the narrowing of the use of the Russian language, the displacement of Russians from spheres of government, intellectual labor, and private activity. The process of repatriation affected not only Russians, but also Tatars, Bashkirs, other peoples of the Volga region, Ossetians, the peoples of Dagestan (Ibid., p. 63).

Petrova describes the development of the industry in Russia and observes that extracting raw materials is the basis for the Russian industry, and mentions the gas sector as being extremely important and profitable, because of the low transport cost. Related to other resources, Petrova describes the supply chains of major Russian industry, like the steel industry. She mentions that there are some challenges in finding enough quantities of good quality coal for cokes production, after the breakup of the USSR:

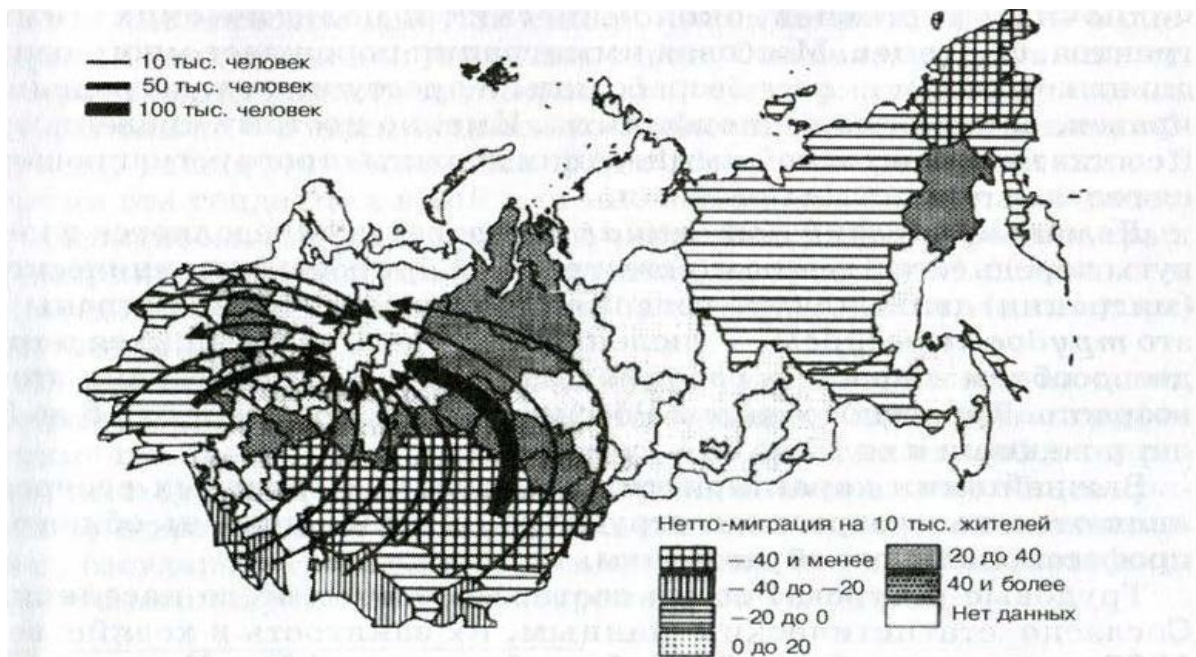


Figure 5.19 Migration flows between former Soviet Republics and Russia, as well as population growth in the regions in Russia

Source: Petrova, p. 63

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian industry lost the Donbass, which belongs now to Ukraine. However, part of the Donetsk coal basin, the eastern ring, remained within the territory of Russia (Rostov Region). In spite of the great depth of the coal layers, the low thickness of the separate coal layers, and therefore the high production costs, mining of high-quality coal for cokes for the Lipetsk Metallurgical Kombinat is going on here. The development of the largest coal basins of Eastern Siberia-Tunguska, Lenskoye, Irkutsk and South Yakutia, is difficult due to the undeveloped nature of these areas (Ibid., p. 171).

Petrova describes in great detail the way the Russian oil industry operates, from production to the refinery process. She also discusses at great length the environmental problems, but also describes some possible solutions for environmental hazards, like the quote below:

To eliminate the consequences of ecological catastrophes, the scientists of Biology of the "Pushchino Academgorodok" [Pushchino Research Center, JCB] in the Moscow Region have developed a unique technology for producing active carbon from waste from the woodworking industry. Active carbon absorbs oily substances in a large water area. The patent for the invention belongs to the Research Institute of Biological Construction. (...) Engineers, environmentalists and chemists are cracking their brains over the creation of waste-free technologies (Ibid., p. 177).

Petrova's book is of all four textbooks the least illustrated. There are several maps and schemes in the book, but it predominantly consists of text. It is interesting to notice that statistical data and other sources date back to the 1990s, so that it appears as if the core of the text was written in that period, with only some updates from the early to mid-2000s. Petrova uses cultural and natural arguments in order to invoke patriotic feelings in students studying the book. The immense amount of natural resources is, like in the other textbooks a recurring theme, meant to impress the students.

5.6.3 10th and 11th grade: Geography of the World

Russian Geography in the 10th and 11th grade consists of geography of the world. The most important subjects are economic development and differences in the world, as well as demographic questions. Just like in the previous section on the 9th grade geography, in the 10th and 11th grade, a

predominantly regional approach is prescribed by the core objectives. In this section a common textbook for these two grades is analyzed, that of Maksakovskiy (2012).

The structure of the textbook can be found in Annex 1.5

Textbook 5: "Geography: Economic and Social Geography of the World"

Maksakovskiy's book is mainly about the "rest of the world" and not too much about Russia itself. Only few specific nation-building aspects can be found in the book, as he carefully tries to describe issues as objective and factual as possible. Some issues stand out however, for example in the part where he discusses international political relations in the world. According to Maksakovskiy (at least at the time of writing in 2012), the international situation is much more cooperative than several decades ago:

In the second half of the 1980's, in international relations occurred the transition from confrontation to mutual understanding and cooperation. Good neighborhood policy came in the place of mistrust, suspicion and enmity. This can also be said about the relations between Russia, the CIS and the USA, between the countries of Europe, the Asia-Pacific region (APR) and other regions. (...) An example of this is the Council "Russia-NATO," which plays an important role in maintaining European security. Russia's relations with the United States assumed the character of a strategic partnership, which had a positive effect on the entire world situation. Political means have succeeded in unwinding the tight knots of many regional conflicts (Maksakovskiy, 2012, p. 14).

Institutions like the UN have succeeded in making the world safer, according to the author, even though still a lot of issues remain, like the international war on terrorism:

In the process of mediating during international conflicts, the United Nations (UN), the headquarters of which is located in New York, plays an important role. At the end of 2007 it included 193 members. Despite all the achievements, many issues of international relations, reflected on the modern political map of the world, still await their solution. It is in the first place a struggle against the recently growing international terrorism that actually challenges the entire global community, by exacerbating unstable situations in many countries and regions (Ibid., p. 16).



Figure 5.20 Central square of Schwerin, Germany
Source: Maksakovskiy, p. 49

Maksakovski is brief about political geography and geopolitics. He mentions some aspects of it, but only theoretically and without concrete examples:

An integral part of political geography is also geopolitics, which expresses state policy and, first of all, in relation to the borders of the country and its interaction with other countries. First of all with neighboring countries, and in the era of the First and Second World Wars, and also during the Cold War, geopolitical concepts sought to justify territorial seizures, the occupation of territories, the creation of military bases, and political and military interference in the affairs of other states. To some extent this orientation remains, but the accents are gradually shifting to the sphere of ensuring international security. Modern geopolitical studies in Russia are primarily connected with the goal and directives of its foreign policy, within the entire system of its international relations (Ibid., p. 20).

It is interesting to see how these parts of the book would change in a new edition and which other words would be used to indicate the – unfortunate – deterioration of Russia's relations with the rest of the world since 2014.

One of the recurring issues in all analyzed Russian textbooks is the relation between men and the environment / nature. Maksakovskiy gives a clear explanation about the issue at hand and the way that it could be addressed:

When assessing the role of the geographic environment in the life of a society, two kinds of mistakes are often made: an exaggeration of this role and, on the contrary, an underestimation of it. The exaggeration of the role of the geographic environment is called geographic determinism or, according to N.N. Baranskiy, geographic fatalism. In its purest form it was manifested in the 18th and 19th centuries, but also in the first half of the 20th century. Its influence affected the geographic schools of France and Germany, Russia, and the United States. Underestimation of the role of the geographical environment N.N. Baranskiy called geographical nihilism. Perhaps, such underestimation was especially characteristic for the Soviet Union, where the slogan dominated for a long time: "We cannot wait for favors from nature, take them from her, which is our task" (Ibid., p. 27).

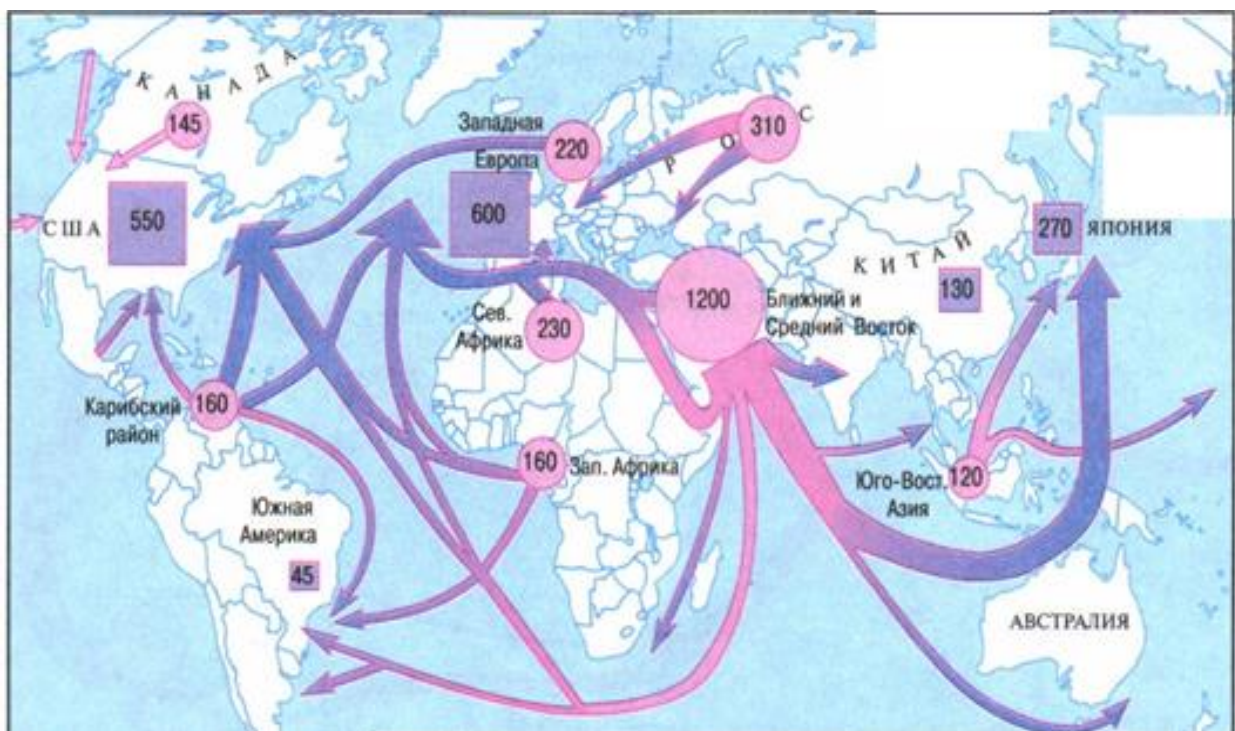


Figure 5.21 Map of the worldwide oil trade. Maksakovskiy's textbook includes several maps, most of which are thematic and have to do with raw materials, trade and logistics.

Source: Maksakovskiy, p. 127

As in the textbooks of the 8th and 9th grade, also the textbook of Maksakovskiy is a book with a predominantly regional geographic approach. All continents are being discussed based on their unique features, a classical ideographic approach. When Maksakovskiy writes about the Western European region, he mentions for example how small these countries are, compared to Russia:

The majority of European countries are relatively small. Belgians, for example, jokingly say that when you enter their country, you have to slow down, otherwise you will already be in a neighboring state. Indeed, the fast Moscow-London train crosses Belgium for no more than just 140 minutes. It is no accident that there are no sleeping cars on the railways of many European countries at all! (Ibid., p. 179)

Maksakovskiy describes the population in Western Europe, and discusses there also the situation related to immigrants, a situation he describes as detrimental for the “quality of the population”, without going into detail what he exactly means with it. This is a quite different piece of text compared to his normally careful and factual description of regions:

Now there are about 20 million foreign workers and members of their families, a large part of whom are in the position of non-citizens, and temporary guest workers (in German "Gastarbeiter"). Most of them in Germany - more than 7 million people. Countries that accept labor immigrants receive an additional source of cheap labor. The inflow of migrants has a positive impact on population growth, its age composition. But along with this, it worsens the quality of the population, and exacerbates many social problems. Recently, in many countries of Europe, collisions of indigenous residents with migrants and refugees have become more and more frequent (Ibid., p. 181).

Maksakovskiy continues with some numbers to indicate an alleged Islamization of Europe, which will as he believes, will lead to increased social conflicts in Europe, which he uses as an argument in an us versus them discussion: Russia is doing not so well, but in other parts of the world it is not so good also:

Recently, an increase in the influx of migrants from Muslim countries has led to an intensification of this "Islamic factor" and potential social conflicts. For example, in 2006, there were more than 20 million immigrants from the Muslim countries in the EU countries, in 10 years' time their number will double. Muslims today make up 25% of the population in Rotterdam and Marseilles, 15% in Brussels and 10% in London and Paris (Ibid., p. 182).

Maksakovskiy describes Europe and the European Union in detail, but stays on the level of description. He refers to European countries as “capitalist” countries and uses in many places terminology which can be attributed to the time of the Soviet Union, however he uses the, at the time of writing, most recent statistic facts. The way he describes environmental problems for example is interesting, when he discusses about the ecological dangers of shipping routes for the environment in Western Europe:

Busy shipping lanes come with a huge danger for the natural environment, which creates catastrophes of the supertankers, which often happen, especially on the approaches towards La Manche (Ibid., p. 197).

It is interesting that the last major oil tanker wreckage and spill is from the early 1980s, and the question can be asked how up-to-date Maksakovskiy's text is in general. Another example of this are the photos he presents in the book. Most of these photos seem to have been made in the 1970s or 1980s, like for example the picture 5.22 on page 199, of the Champs Elysees in Paris.

Some major changes have happened in the relations between Russia and the USA and Western Europe. The Russia – NATO partnership has been dissolved and a conflict between Ukraine and Russia developed, which led to the annexation of Crimea by Russia. Until the moment of writing this changes have not been implemented in the official textbooks in schools, for as far as the author could see. Maksakovskiy's book is hardly identifiable as patriotic, instead it is more of a description of different regions in the world with every now and then a small anecdote in which some glimpse of

patriotism can be found (whenever a country can be compared to Russia and Russia comes forward more favourable from this comparison).



Figure 5.22 Champs Elysees and Arc-de-Triomphe in Paris. (Source: Maksakovskiy, 2012, p. 199)

5.6.4 Recent “Class Hour” teacher presentations on the enlargement of Russia

Since the core objectives of the Russian Ministry of Education, instructs schools and teachers to include the obligation to discuss the entire territory of the Russian Federation during the Geography classes, teachers have developed their own presentations about Crimea, since its accession to Russia to complement the official textbooks. In this way they can instruct the students why the Russian Federation became larger. Some of the Russian teachers have shared their presentations on the internet.

During Soviet times, in the Russian educational system the so-called “Class hour” (Klasniy Tshas) developed. During this, usually monthly, scheduled hour, important actual topics are presented and discussed, ranging from social-cultural issues to political issues (like the extension of Russia with Crimea). On the Russian platform “Myshared.ru”, several of these Class hour teacher presentations on the issue of Crimea have been uploaded and shared with the rest of the world.

The presentations range from largely factual to strongly patriotic, and some of them will be analysed here, in order to better understand the ideas of the teachers who made them. Direct links to the actual teacher presentations can be found in Annex 2. Zajda and Smith (2013) as well as Lovorn and Tsyrlina-Spady (2015) observed a shift towards more patriotic views about Russian history among history teachers. Even though the “Class hour” presentations discussed in this section are just a small selection of all “Class hours” that were given, and generalizations should be therefore made with care, it does look like a similar mechanism works for the geography teachers as well. Tsyrlina-Spady and Palekhova (2017) conclude that this is because of massive brainwashing via the mass-media. It can certainly be debated how strong this influence is, but it would provide a plausible explanation that geography teachers seem to react in the same way as history teachers.

As can be expected all presentations mention the enlargement of the territory of the Russian Federation. Most presentations mention the referendum and signing of the annexation treaty by president Putin. A notable exception to this is the presentation 1, which mainly consists of strongly patriotic poetry and song texts about the beauty of Russia and Crimea, for example:

Look, my friend, on the vastness of Crimea! How bright the blue sea shines. How lovely the mountains are to the heart, and how they ask for a song. Oh, marvellous land, oh pearl Crimea! I love you with my whole heart. Flowers and blossoms do not fade from this wonderful Russian land! ("Crimea, the pearl of Russia," 2015)

Most presentations mention an overview of Crimean history and the strong connection with the Russian history. Main points of Crimean history that are mentioned are the conquest of Crimea from the Ottoman Empire by Ekaterina II, the Crimean War in the 1850s, the siege of Sevastopol in the Second World War, the donation of Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR (Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic) in 1954 and finally the return of Crimea to Russia in 2014, almost 60 years later.

In almost all presentations, Nikita Khrushchev is mentioned as the one who suddenly and without regards to the Soviet constitution or "the will of the people" gave away Crimea to Ukraine. The reasons for this gift which are mentioned differ among the presentations. Presentation 5 states that Khrushchev decided Crimea is a logical extension to Ukraine, as it has a land bridge with this republic:

The decree [which transferred Crimea to Ukraine, JCB] said that the Crimea is a natural extension of the southern steppes of Ukraine, and "for geographical and economic reasons, the transfer of the Crimean region to the brotherly Ukrainian SSR is justified and in the general interests of the Soviet state." Thus, the Constitution of the RSFSR [Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, JCB] and the legislative procedure were violated by N. Khrushchev (Scheffer, 2015).

In other presentations, different reasons are mentioned, in presentation 7:

The transfer of the Crimean region from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR In 1954 was because of the very hard economic situation on the peninsula, caused by the post-war devastation (Gvozdk, 2015).



Figure 5.23 Presentation 5: Pictures about the history of Crimea in relation to the Second World War (Source: Scheffer, 2015)

Presentation number 11 gives yet another reason, the 300 years union between Russia and Ukraine:

In February 1954 the Crimean Region transferred from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR. The transfer was because of the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav treaty of 1654 ("Our Crimea [Powerpoint]," 2015).

And in presentation number 3, Putin is quoted saying:

In 1954 the Crimean Region and Sevastopol were transferred to the Ukrainian Union Republic. The personal initiator was the head of the Soviet Union Khrushchev. What motivated him was the desire to enlist the support of the Ukrainian authorities in solving their own problems or to make amends for the organization of mass repressions in Ukraine in the 1930s. (...) It was without the desire of the people of Crimea. Naturally, in the conditions of that state, the inhabitants of the Crimea and Sevastopol were not asked about anything (Romanenko, 2015).



Figure 5.24 Presentation 5: Sevastopol during the Crimean War (Source: Scheffer, 2015)

All presentations from Annex 2 speak highly of the fact that the people themselves have decided in a referendum that they would like to belong to Russia. 18 March, the date of the annexation of Crimea to Russia is mentioned as one of the turning points in history, and is accompanied by phrases like "Welcome!", "Together forever!", "We are together!" or "In unity lies our strength". One presentation, number 4, even displays a map of the so-called Novorossiia, with the title "We are together", which may indicate that the author supports a claim on the territory of Moldova and large parts of Ukraine.

Only a few presentations mention anything at all about the period between 1954 and 2014. Only presentation 2, presentation 6 and presentation 11 mention some things about the period in between. Presentation 2 mentions that the Ukrainian government was treating the Crimean people unjustly:

In the spring of 1995, the new Ukrainian president, Leonid Kuchma, forced the Verkhovna Rada [the parliament, JCB] of Ukraine to liquidate the statutory post of the president of the Crimea and the abolition of the Crimean constitution ("The entry of Crimea and Sevastopol to the territory of Russia [Powerpoint]," 2015).



Figure 5.25 Presentation 4: We are together! With a map of Novorossiia, consisting of the regions with large numbers of Russian speaking people in Ukraine and Moldova (Source: Romanenko, 2015)

Presentation 6 and 11 both discuss the status of Crimea within Ukraine as an autonomous republic since 1992, a situation which would have likely changed because of the situation following the Euromaidan revolution in Kiev according to the authors. As presentation 11 puts it:

On the wave of the changes that made in the executive bodies of Sevastopol and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea [after the Euromaidan events, JCB], and they, in turn, applied for assistance to the leadership of the Russian Federation ("Our Crimea [Powerpoint]," 2015).

Presentation 12 uses little words, but instead very telling images. The author shows Crimea in the middle between the Capitol in Washington (symbolizing the supposed domination of the USA over the new Ukrainian government after the Maidan revolution) and the Kremlin, which comes to liberate Crimea.

None of the presentations mention anything about the social and/or economic activities of Ukraine during the period of 1954 – 2014. The sole focus of the historical elements of the presentations is on the older history, the golden ages of the Russian Empire in the 18th century as well as the heroic defence of Sevastopol during the Second World War. This also means that there is no attention for the historical period before the Russian conquest in the 18th century. Ethnic minorities in Crimea like the Crimean Tatars are largely ignored; even though they are mentioned in some of the presentations, it is also clear from the way they are mentioned that it were the Russians who brought civilization and development to the peninsula (see for example Troyenko, 2015), making all presentations strongly "Russo-centric".

In almost all presentations, the natural beauty and landscape of Crimea, as well as many historical monuments, like villas of old Russian noble families are extensively shown and praised. With these cultural and historical examples, the teachers seem to support the claim that Crimea should indeed be Russian. Heroic war paintings and pictures as well as the stress on the natural beauty are common aspects of patriotism (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; A. D. Smith, 1991) and in the case of the presentations of Crimea discussed in this section, it can be concluded that the teachers who made



Figure 5.26 Presentation 12: (Source: "The accession of Crimea to Russia [Powerpoint]," 2015). Crimea as struggle between the two superpowers USA and Russia. Supposedly the Ukrainian government after the Euromaidan revolution is under total control of the USA.

these presentations had these kind of patriotic nation-building ideas in mind. Some presentations go further than just patriotism. Presentation 4, puts a claim on large parts of Ukraine and Moldova, supporting a nationalist / irredentist perspective. Presentation 12 describes the situation in Crimea as part of a geopolitical struggle between the USA and Russia for world domination, an example of a strong nationalist perspective on this conflict.

6 Teachers and nation building – analysis of interviews

*Patriotism is usually stronger than class hatred
and always stronger than internationalism
George Orwell*

6.1 Introduction

Successful nation building happens only if the ideas that are represented resonate with the public in general and with the teachers in front of the class in particular. Of course the teachers are not the only source of the spread of nationalist ideas, but this study analyses the ideas of some Russian geography teachers about these issues. Do they support the core objectives of the ministry of education about teaching patriotism and multi-ethnic tolerance, or do they have different ideas and do they feel the room to express their personal opinion next to the general story of the textbook. This part of the study is a qualitative research consisting of five in-depth interviews. The author has tried to find in his network an as diverse as possible set of respondents, but still there is probably a strong bias, as all interviewed teachers speak English and/or German and have probably a relatively cosmopolite point of view. Nonetheless, from these interviews, some ideas could be taken that give both better understanding of the situation and/or deserve further investigation.

6.2 Profile of the interviewees

All five interviewees are university graduates, with 3 up to 29 years of teaching experience. Two are male and three females. Three of the five interviewees have a PhD degree (“Kandidat nauk” in Russian, the other two have a master’s degree, of which one is currently writing a dissertation for getting a PhD degree). The interviewees are treated anonymous in this study, but the names of the interviewees are known to the academic supervisor. In terms of geographical location of the interviewees, two are from the St. Petersburg region, two from the Moscow region and one from the South of Russia, the Northern Caucasus, to be precise.

In terms of job satisfaction, two of the interviewees indicated that they feel most of the time satisfied or very satisfied with their job and working environment, whereas three are less satisfied, because they consider teaching a hard job or don’t like the environment (colleagues, building, salary or system) that they work in.

Table 6.1 Some characteristics of the respondents from the interviews

Interview number	Male / Female	Years of teaching experience	Region of work	Job satisfaction	Degree
1	F	9	St. Petersburg	High	PhD
2	F	3	St. Petersburg	Low / Medium	PhD
3	F	14	Moscow	Medium	PhD
4	M	5	Moscow	Low	Master
5	M	29	North Caucasus	Low / Medium	Master

As can be seen from the table, the interviewees are for the largest part from Moscow or St. Petersburg, which gives most likely some biased results, as people from the large agglomerations

like the one of Moscow and St. Petersburg are quite different in mentality and look on life than that of teachers in more rural and/or remote regions of Russia. All interviewed teachers are frequent travellers abroad and have indicated to have several friends abroad.

6.3 Teachers and the development of the Russian national narrative

The first part of the interviews was about issues related to the development of the Russian national narrative. As was mentioned in chapter 3 and 4, these narratives are not static, but are instead changing overtime, albeit slowly. In this section, answers of the different respondents on the following questions are analysed:

- Trends and developments they observe in society related to nation building ideas, especially since the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991.
- Is it socially accepted for teachers in general to speak about their own opinion, even if that might be different from the core objectives / instructions given?
- Their identification with the Russian national narrative

The question about trends and developments in society related to nation building was answered rather different by the respondents. Of course all of them were aware of the existence of nationalists in society, but not all agreed on the actual influence they have on the current policy makers. Respondent 4 was very outspoken about the issue of nationalism, and reported to be scared of the developments in society in general about the, in his opinion, growth of the support for nationalist thought. In particular, he disagrees with the symbols and ideas which are chosen to represent the ideal-typical Russian:

I fear a return of extreme nationalists in Russia. Some new days of the "Black Hundreds". I am scared of this, because of all the crazy rhetoric I hear around me. (...) What is real Russian? Nowadays you have these people who talk about the real Russian as the traditional Orthodox farmer from a deep rural area in the North of Russia, the Arkhangelsk region or so. "Those are the true Russians, the ones who have never been corrupted with foreign influences but always kept their true Russian identity, Orthodox faith and traditions". I tell you, this kind of madness may very well destroy our country as we know it. Think about these "true unspoilt Russians", these people venerate icons, which they call Bozhniki [little Gods, JCB]. I tell you, there is nothing Christian in that, these are age old pagan traditions and that is what should be our example as being the true Russians? Thank you very much!

This point of view was not shared by the other respondents, who indicated to be not so scared. Nonetheless, they also understood how large the potential influence of nationalists in society can be. Respondent 1 for example explained that:

I would say nowadays about 20% of my students have strong patriotic thoughts, that of the great Russia and so on. I try to take them serious, but also like to discuss with them about it. The majority of the students are more moderate, they for example have friends or family abroad and know that things are not so black and white as one can observe from the mass media.

Interviewee 5 has the longest experience of being a teacher, already from the period of the Soviet Union, although he used to be only a language teacher first and started to teach geography only at the end of the 1990s. Asked about the differences in education between then and now he mentioned:

Of course it is changed... I remember the days of my teacher training, when I was taught things like: I'm a young communist my name is comrade ... etc. It has less ideology now, at least less obviously visible. But I never felt myself too much limited in what I could and could

not say about different nationalities, not even in the Soviet Union. Of course here in the Northern Caucasus things are a bit different than elsewhere in Russia. We have a lot of different nationalities here, but in principle they are living quite well together.

Related to the second question, that of social acceptance for teachers to express their own opinion, all respondents told that they feel that within certain limits they absolutely have the possibility to do so. Interviewee 4 specifically mentioned something about these limits, which he considers to be very strong when dealing with national symbols and pride:

Look, we do have considerable freedom here to lead our lives as we want it, and do the things that we would like to do and to think about issues the way we would like to think. Just, there are some things that are very important here if you want to have a career: The state is considered holy. Don't say anything that is against the state or against the symbol of this state, which is the president. You are expected to be a loyal citizen which helps in closing the ranks against the bad world outside of our country.

About their identification with the Russian national narrative and about feeling Russian in general, the opinions were different among the respondents. Interviewee 2 for example remarked:

I was born and raised in the Soviet Union and I remember that even in kindergarten we were already playing with the idea of different nations. I was Pionyerka [Pioneer, children club of the Communist Party, JCB] and I remember that I was so happy when I was selected to wearing an Azeri costume with all those nice threads and beads. I very much loved it. The next year I was wearing the Ukrainian national costume, you know with the ring of flowers on the head. And never occurred to me the thought that these people were of a different nationality and culture. Attention for specific ethnic Russianness if you could call it like that was never an issue.

Russian culture is an inclusive culture. You are considered Russian if you speak the language and are Orthodox. That means even you as a foreigner can become Russian. Being Russian is not limited to a certain genetic pool [Interview 4].

I'm feeling myself a proud member of my nation, the Kabardians. I consider that a sort of respect to my ancestors. I am Russian by passport, but not by heart. Of course I will tell when I'm abroad that I'm Russian, but I do not belong to the group of ethnic Russians. (...) I think contact and cooperation between nations is good, but I do not like total assimilation. (...) I wouldn't like to see my daughters marry with a Russian. We, and I think all my family members think the same, should keep together as ethnic group and not assimilate. I certainly do not hate Russian people, they are what they are and we are what we are. We have our own history and culture [Interview 5].

The Russian national narrative as is broadcasted via mass media and other channels does for most respondents only partly overlap with their own feelings of being Russian, as this is seen as too strongly militaristic:

The official channels put a lot of attention on large overarching historical events. Especially on 1941-1945. I don't know... So much attention for the Second World War, I understand the importance of the victory, but so much attention for all those military things, it's not my thing [Interview 3].

Not so long ago I saw around the Kremlin a parade of Cossack people, you know traditionally dressed and with the black hats. They were shouting that they were the real patriots and protectors of the country. I cannot understand, these are just uneducated kolchozniki

("peasants"). Do I need to identify myself with that? I don't think so, why should I think militaristic and aggressive towards the rest of the world? [Interview 4]

I have to say that it is only a minority that is so strongly patriotic, but they are crazy loud in the media. What I also hate is that the majority of Russians do think that these ideas are way out of line, but they are conformist and maybe opportunistic a bit, they are the true silent majority who keep their mouth shut, in order not to have any problems. [Interview 4].

Respondent 5 specifically remarked that according to him, the entire question of nationalism and/or regionalism is in most cases used as a pretext by persons in power to mobilize supporters:

I live in one of these minority republics and what you see is that focus on the nationality of our republic is used by wrong types of people in their search for power. I'm sorry...I cannot be very positive about politicians in principle. It is just Machiavelli here, how to stay in power and manipulate the people in order to get as much as possible support as well as the unstoppable hunger to extract money from ordinary people.

6.4 Training and support for teachers

In the second part of the interview, the respondents were asked about possible training related to professional development and possibly also in issues related to nation building and some trainings related to the enlargements of the territory of the Russian Federation with Crimea.

- Do they receive support or training related to teaching nation building activities?
- To what extent and how do they incorporate nation building activities into their teaching?
- Is teaching patriotism an important goal for them personally?

The question of trainings related to professional development and new parts of Russia was answered by respondents with some difference in answers. Interviewee 1 explained that she was rather involved in these questions, because she also worked part-time as a teacher trainer in one of the universities:

There is quite a wide offer of professional development courses available for teachers, most of them are online and can be very easily followed from home. I was involved in a number of them, try to imagine them, they are sort of MOOCs. (...) I do not know of any of such courses that deal specifically with Crimea. I know about several courses that might be related, for example in ethnography, demography and geopolitics that teachers can participate in.

Interviewee 3 followed such a training course but on economic geography, not on nation building. The other respondents indicated they did not participate in any type of training programs in the last couple of years. On the question whether they felt they received enough support for the development of their personal skills in teaching in general and teaching about nation building activities in particular, all respondents replied to be satisfied with that in principle, although none of the respondents could mention any course for teacher related to the expansion of the territory of the Russian Federation with Crimea. They also didn't indicate that they missed such a course. It could mean that they consider themselves to have a good knowledge about this region.

About teaching patriotism during their classes to school children, all the respondents were clear: They didn't really do this. At least not actively and intentionally.

I never think too much about it actually. But you know... we do of course talk about and celebrate important historical events like 9 Mai [Victory day, Second World War, JCB] or we also have these other sort of general festive days like 8 March [International women's day, JCB]. I guess these are something that is so general that each nationality and religion in

Russia can identify with. We all fought the fascists shoulder to shoulder, regardless of the nationality, these kind of issues [Interview 1].

We respect all nationalities, but I always consider them as Russians without thinking about it. If they speak Russian then for sure. It just happened to me once that I was in Chuvashia and I heard only Chuvash language around me, this sort of Turkish and for a moment I thought.... Wow... Which country am I in actually? But still...when I started to speak in Russian, they all immediately switched to Russian and I understood that it is still Russia [Interview 2].

We certainly have classes about the different regions in Russia, but I never explicitly even think about the question if they are Russian or not. It is something that feels naturally so, even though they are Tatar or Bashkir or whatever [Interview 3].

Of course we have things that we share as different nations, but I choose to stay as factual as possible and don't talk too much about emotions and pride [Interview 5].

6.5 Education methods and ethnic diversity in class

The third part of the interviews consisted of questions about how teachers were using and evaluating the textbooks which they use and how they deal with ethnic diversity, for example when they have to describe the different regions in Russia each with their own characteristics. The following questions were discussed:

- Their opinion about minority peoples and their way of discussing ethnic diversity in class.
- Their opinion on changes in the education methods and how they perceive these changes

The question whether the respondents observed methodical or content changes in geography textbooks and how they perceived these changes, was answered differently by the respondents. Two indicated to be quite happy with the changes in the textbook and proposed teaching methods, whereas the three others indicated they didn't see too many changes at all. Of the respondents that were positive about the developments:

Geography is now so much more interesting than twenty years ago. I like very much the practical projects for the students about their own environment, and also the things I mentioned before already, about the attention for creative skills and GIS and the opportunities for students to create their own maps and construct their own geographical world [Interview 1].

In general geography became a bit more practical I guess. That is what will be attractive for students [Interview 3].

The teachers who told that they did not observe too much changes, felt that the methods and geographical information did not change very much since the time of the Soviet Union / the 1990s:

Yeah... I was studying from Maksakovski in tenth grade myself and maybe my imagination is wrong but now 15 years later it seems it is all still similar [Interview 2].

It is still largely similar. Partly this is not too much of a problem, as nature doesn't change too fast. But indeed the changes in general aren't that big also in the human geography part [Interview 5].

The observations from these three respondents are in line with several observations made in chapter 5 that some information in the textbooks seems to be rather old and sometimes clearly outdated.

When asked about the ethnic minorities in the country, in general the respondents wouldn't notice too much of a change in how people think about them. They generally liked the cultural diversity, and saw the national minorities as different, but equal. This meant for them that they are Russian, but with a different culture, a sort of special variant of Russian citizens. Respondent 2 mentioned specifically a reason from the past, about the way why she in general thinks about national minorities in Russia, in the way that she does:

The ideal Soviet citizen had no "nationality". He was a classless citizen. Never in my own education I was even thinking about the possibility that minorities could even anything else than Russian. It is in our blood or something like that to live together with these 180 or so minorities.

When thinking more deeply about the question, she continues with some experience / examples about ethnic minorities in the country:

We do have these stereotypes, and speak about other nationalities, like: "She is Tatar and therefore stubborn". Or: "she cooks very well, but no wonder, she's Tatar". Still, we do see them as equal. All of them, except maybe the people from the North. You know... we can laugh about them and I think we sometimes treat them a bit like children. But... what can you do? In Chukotka I saw myself how they behave: They have a house, but even in winter with - 40 degrees they build a yurt in the garden from reindeer skin and sleep in there. But still, it is one of the nice parts of geography to tell stories about the different peoples [Interview 2].

Discussing the different regions of Russia in class, also means discussing about the minorities which live there. Asked how they speak about minorities in class, all respondents answered that they followed the guidelines in talking about the ethnic diversity of Russia. They reported to enjoy speaking about the ethnic diversity and cultural differences between different regions in Russia. The diversity is generally seen by them as one of the factors that make geography more interesting for themselves and for the students.

There are really nice atlases and we are drawing maps about the places where other nationalities live, GIS is a trend in several of our schools and I'm glad I can use Mapinfo to let the students prepare some nice maps in order to make good presentations about it. Cultural diversity is always interesting. Our country is so big, it is never boring [Interview 1].

It is my favourite subject to speak about the diversity and richness of number of people in our country, this ethnography is for me one of the subjects I like best of all to teach. In every culture there are interesting aspects [Interview 3].

I let students prepare mini-presentations about them [the different nationalities] for example. When I teach, I'm telling students all the facts and analysis of the country and its regions. And yes, the diversity as well, but always in the way of respect and equality. Plain, simple and factual. [Interview 5].

7 Conclusions and discussion

*Ask not what your country can do for you,
Ask what you can do for your country!*
John F. Kennedy

7.1 Conclusion

The main question of this study is: *In what way does the Russian government use the Russian education system, especially the subject of Geography, as tool for nation building among school children, which characteristics does this nation building have, do teachers affirm the imposed nation building ideas and which developments can be observed?* In this brief conclusion chapter, an answer to this question is formulated, based on the collected information in the previous chapters.

The Russian government uses the education system, just like in most other countries in the world, to spread ideas that they consider to be important. The Russian ministry of education checks textbooks and approves the content as fitting with the guidelines formulated, thus having a direct influence on these textbooks.

In terms of nation building, the Russian ministry of education has issued, as official position, a number of guidelines or core objectives for schools to teach about Russia as a multi-ethnic and multicultural country, in which there has to be room for cultural and religious diversity. In schools the main message should be: Russia is home to everyone, regardless of one's nationality. Several of the interviewed geography teachers also confirmed this idea of the attempt to create a sort of inclusive nationalism, with overarching (regardless of one's specific ethnicity) national symbols like the remembrance of the victory in the Second World War, a type of nationalism that looks mostly like the type of nationalism that is described in the literature as classical 19th century state nationalism, like the French government that deliberately worked on creating a national French identity. In the geography textbooks some ideas related to this inclusive nationalism are also present, but not in a very explicit sense.

When analysing the different geography textbooks, it becomes clear that Russian nation-building elements are more visible in the description of the natural environment and the vastness of both its surface and the available natural resources than in the sphere of human geography / politics. There is a tendency to speak about Russia as the leader among natural resources providers in the world, including the idea that these type of countries will be the most powerful and leading countries in the 21st century. This form of nation-building, aimed at "the future that will change everything" and thereby will lead to a better life for everyone is not very apparent in the literature on this subject. It may even cause a wrong perception about how nationalist / patriotist ideas work in Russia. Feelings of pride about the greatness of the natural environment and richness in raw materials as well as the heroic deeds of the Russians in overcoming great natural obstacles may be used as powerful patriotic messages. This doesn't mean that there is no "classical" (as can be expected from the literature) types of nation-building in the school curriculum. There is, even in the geography textbooks quite some attention on great past achievements / personalities that should make young people proud. Some of these have been identified in this study, but according to several other studies, this "classical" type of nation-building is mainly present in the history curriculum: History textbooks do glorify Golden Ages and hero-like personalities. All in all, it means that the Russian national narrative and the subsequent nation-building activities may be more complex than what would have been expected based on the literature about this issue.

In general the geography textbooks have a strongly ideographic (i.e. place description) approach. Places are described according to their uniqueness and special characteristics, although there are

also subjects that are described in a more relational way and with a network approach, for example the subjects related to industrial complexes and in some textbooks there are also several sections devoted to the development of geographic skills (like drawing maps and to do research and presentations about the own environment etc.). Some of the textbooks show more patriotic nation building elements than others, and consist of more explicit communication of national values. These values consist feelings of pride for Russia and the enthusiasm about achievements of the past (in the Second World War, but also in technology). In all books, whenever there are references from culture and history, virtually only ethnic Russians are being mentioned in the books, making most textbooks rather “Russo-centric”, or as one could argue, that they have a more implicit way of communicating values and ideas belonging to nationalism. The interviews with the different teachers, as well as studying the published work of some teachers in their presentations about the accession of Crimea to Russia gave more evidence for this Russo-centrism. Recent teacher presentations analysed in this study, about the relation between Russia and Crimea are openly patriotic and nationalistic: arguments based on history, historical territorial claims and the so-called “will of the people” are used, to justify the accession of Crimea to the Russian Federation, as well as complemented (in some cases) by territorial claims to other regions outside Russia. Specific ideas and/or demands of ethnic minorities are marginalized or completely ignored.

The character of Russian nation building in education consists, according to the official documents, of the wish of the ministry of Education, that teachers will teach students about the importance of patriotism: developing feelings of pride and love for the Motherland. None of the interviewed teachers indicated that for them these guidelines were reason to adjust their classes or put special attention for this subject, but given the probable selection bias, not too many generalizations from these interviews can be made for the total population of Russian geography teachers. From the interviews it became also clear that teachers report to feel more or less free to express their own point of view related to the subject of nationalism, although they would sometimes not do this very openly and explicitly in class.

7.2 Discussion and recommendations for further research

As is mentioned in the previous section, there needs to be more empirical data from teachers in order to either strengthen or discard the conclusions about teacher activity in terms of nation building in Russian geography education. It has been noted several times and by several people (including the president of the Russian Federation) that textbooks – at least partly – consist of old and outdated material. It is interesting to keep a close eye on future editions of geography textbooks. Longitudinal research into new editions can bring a better understanding of the changes in the different textbooks. In this study, the changes in education that are described in the interviews are limited to the memories of the respondents, all of whom speak about nationalism and patriotism as something that doesn’t too much appeal to them in terms of teaching about it. Therefore, previous changes in textbooks on this subject might have slipped their attention. A similar type of study, like this one, a few years from now may shed light on the further development and implementation of nation-building and patriotism ideas in education.

As mentioned in the previous section, developing patriotism in the education system is a key part of the government strategy to build Russian unity, and as far as can be seen from different sources,

geography as a school subject plays an important role in that (among others and certainly not unimportantly, mentioned by the president of the Russian Federation). Nonetheless, geography is just one of the school subjects. There are several more school subjects that consist of nation-building activities, most notably history and social sciences. As yet, history doesn't have a unified compulsory state exam, although there are some plans to change this (Fokin, 2017). History textbooks have been examined for nation-building content by Tsyrlina-Spady & Lovorn (2015) and Tsyrlina-Spady & Stoskopf (2016). It may be a good idea to expand the analysis to one or more of the other subjects. The most likely candidate for a subject would be "social sciences" (In Russian: обществознание, see figure 7.1), the successor of communist ideology teachings. This subject consists of a number of topics about teaching young people how to function in society. There is considerable overlap between the goals of this current "social sciences" subject and the "civic education" that was for the first time developed in 19th century Germany. Within "social sciences" are sub-topics like philosophy, sociology, law, economics and political science. It is quite likely that there is more nation-building content in this subject, and investigating it would give a more comprehensive image of the Russian secondary school education system.



Figure 7.1: Textbook cover of the subject "social sciences"

Literature

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Annexes

Annex 1. Structure of the Geographical Textbooks

Annex 1.1 Textbook 1 “Geography of Russia: Population & Economy”

Authors: Dronov & Rom

size of the book: 289 pages

The textbook is structured as follows:

About Russia in general

Part 1: The place of Russia in the world (statistics and description of the population, borders, the state and economy)

Part 2: The population of Russia

Part 3: Geographical peculiarities of Russian economics

Part 4: Most important conglomerates in Russia

Part 5: Machine building conglomerate

Part 6: Energy industry conglomerate

Part 7: Different types of industrial conglomerates

Part 8: Agro-industrial complex

Part 9: Infrastructural complex

About Russian Regions

Part 10: The territorial division of Russia

Part 11: Overview of western European Russia

Part 12: Central Russia

Part 13: European North & Northwest

Part 14: European south – North Caucasus

Part 15: Volga region

Part 16: Ural

Part 17: Asian Russia

Annex 1.2 Textbook 2 “Geography of Russia: Economy and Regions”

Alekseev, A.I. (red.) (2011)

Size of the book: 292 pages

The textbook is structured as follows, with a first part on the economy of Russia and its economic sectors and the second part as a regional geography of the country:

Economy of Russia

Part 1. General characteristics of the Russian economy.

- The concept of economy. Its structure

- Stages of economic development

- Geographical zoning

Part 2. Major industries and intersectoral complexes

- Agriculture. Crop production

- Animal husbandry. Zonal specialization of agriculture

- The Agro-industrial complex.

- Food industry

- Forest and wood industry complex

- Fuel and energy complex.

- Fuel industry

- Power engineering

- Metallurgical complex

- Machine building complex

- Chemical industry

- Transport sector

- The information infrastructure in Russia

- The service sector. Recreational facilities

- Territorial (geographical) division of labour

Regions of Russia

Part 3. The European part of Russia

- The East European Plain

- The Volga

Part 4. Central Russia

- Geographical location and nature

- The Central District: Peculiarities of the population

- Economy of the Central District

- Moscow - the capital of Russia

- Other cities of the Central Region

- Central Chernozem [black earth, JCB] Region

- The Volga-Vyatka region

Part 5. North-West district

- Geographical location and nature

- Cities on old waterways of trade

- St. Petersburg - a new "economic hub" of Russia

- St. Petersburg - the "second capital" of Russia

- Kaliningrad Region

Part 6. The European North of Russia

- Geographical location and nature

- Stages of economic development

- The role of the European North in the development of Russian culture
- Part 7. The Volga Region
 - Geographical location and nature
 - Population and economy
- Part 8. North Caucasus – Russian South
 - Natural conditions
 - The economy of the region
 - Peoples of the North Caucasus
 - Russia's southern seas
- Part 9. Ural region
 - Geographical location and nature
 - Stages of development and modern economy
 - Cities of the Urals. Problems of the region
- Part 10. Asian part of Russia
 - Nature of Siberia
 - Nature and resources of the mountains of Southern Siberia
 - Arctic seas
 - Population of Siberia
 - Economic development of Siberia
- Part 11. Western Siberia
 - Natural conditions and resources
 - The economy of the region
- Part 12. Eastern Siberia
 - Natural conditions and resources
 - Baikal
 - Economy of the region
- Part 13. Russian Far East
 - Formation of the Territory
 - Natural conditions and resources
 - Seas of the Pacific
 - Population of the region
 - The economy of the region
- Part 14. Russia in the world
- Conclusion

Annex 1.3 Textbook 3 Geography of Russia: Economy, regions

Authors: Tamozhnaya, E. A. & Tolkunova S. G. (2013)

Size of the book: 374 pages.

The textbook is structured as follows, with a first part on the economy of Russia and its economic sectors and the second part as a regional geography of the country:

Economy of Russia

Part 1. General characteristics of the economy of Russia

- Branch structure of the economy

- Features of the formation of the economy of Russia

- Types of enterprises and factors of their deployment, territorial structure of the economy

Geography of industries and inter sectoral complexes.

Part 2. Fuel and energy complex

- Composition and value of the energy industry

- Mining industry

- Electric Power Industry of Russia

Part 3. Metallurgical complex

- Composition and significance of the complex.

- Factors of location of metallurgical enterprises

- Heavy Iron and Steel Industry

- Non-ferrous metallurgy

Part 4. Chemical and wood industry

- Chemical industry

- Forests and wood industry

- Geography of the chemical and forest complex

Part 5. Machine-building complex

- Composition and significance of the machine-building complex.

- Peculiarities of location of enterprises

- The Industrial-Defence complex

Part 6. Agro-industrial complex

- Composition and importance of the agro-industrial complex

- Geography of crop and livestock production

- Food and light industry

Part 7. Infrastructure complex

- Composition and significance of the infrastructural complex.

- Types of Transport

- Dry bulk transport

- Water and other modes of transport

- Communication

- Industries of social infrastructure

Part 8. Ecological potential of Russia

- The ecological situation in Russia

Natural and economic regions of Russia

Part 9. Zoning of the territory of Russia

- Principles of the allocation of regions on the territory of the country

Part 10. European part of Russia (Western macro-region)

- General characteristics of the European part of Russia

Part 11. Central Russia

- Geographical position and the main features of nature of Central Russia
- The population of Central Russia
- Economy of Central Russia
- Part 12. The European North of Russia
 - Geographical position and the nature of the European North
 - The population of the European North
 - The economy of the European North
- Part 13. The North-West Regions of Russia
 - Geographic location and nature of the North-West
 - The population of the North-West region
 - The economy of the North-West
- Part 14. The Volga region
 - Composition, geographical location and features of the nature of the Volga region
 - The population of the Volga region
 - Economy of the Volga region
- Part 15. The South of the European part of Russia
 - Composition, geographical position and features of nature of the European South
 - The population of the European South
 - Economy of the European South
- Part 16. Ural region
 - Composition, geographical location and the nature of the Urals
 - The population of the Urals
 - Economy of the Urals
- Part 17. The Asian part of Russia (Eastern macro-region)
 - General characteristics of the Asian part of Russia
- Part 18. Siberia
 - General features of the nature of Siberia
 - Peculiarities of settlement and economic development of Siberia
- Part 19. Western Siberia
 - Composition, geographical location and features of the western Siberia
 - The population of Western Siberia
 - Economy of Western Siberia
- Part 20. Eastern Siberia
 - Composition, geographical location and features of the nature of Eastern Siberia
 - Population and economy of Eastern Siberia
- Part 21. Southern Siberia
 - Composition, geographical location and features of the nature of South Siberia
 - Economic development and population of Southern Siberia
 - Economy of Southern Siberia
- Part 22. Russian Far East
 - Composition, geographical location and features of the nature of the Far East
 - Economic development and population of the Far East
 - Economy of the Far East
- Part 23. Russia in the modern world
 - Place of Russia in the world

Annex 1.4 Textbook 4 “Geography of Russia”

Petrova, N.N. (2007)

Size of the book: 215 pages

The textbook is structured as follows:

Part 1. Modern Russia and the geographical map of Russia

Geographical location

Political map of Russia

In ten time zones

Russian possessions in the Arctic

Part 2. The history of the Russian State

From Kievan Rus to the Moscow Principality

Peter I. Epoch of great achievements

Study of the territory of Russia (XVIII-XX centuries)

The Place of Russia on the Political Map of the World in the Twentieth Century

Part 3. The map: the language of geography

Diversity-geographical maps

Geo-information systems

Part 4. The population of Russia

National and religious composition of the population

Slavic people

Peoples of Finno-Ugric and Turkic groups

Project: We study the specifics of the peoples of our locality

Part 5. Geography of the population

Statistics knows everything (workshop)

Demographic situation in Russia

Cities and rural settlements

Ecological problems of large cities

Russian cities of science

Cultural landscapes

Environment: man and his health (workshop)

Part 6. The use of nature, the uniqueness of the nature of Russia

Forests

Forestless spaces

Mountainous areas

Geographical environment

(Project) We will preserve the natural landscapes of our locality

Part 7. Soil and Climate resources

Natural resources

Sunlight radiation

The influence of the Atlantic

Features of the climate of the Asian part of Russia

Soils

The agro-industrial complex

Part 8. Forest resources

Geography of the forest industry

Part 9. Water resources

Seas of the Arctic Ocean

Seas of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans

Rivers and reservoirs

Lakes and swamps

Part 10. Mineral Resources

Regularities in the location of minerals

Geological chronology

Geography of fuel and energy resources

Petroleum industry

Fuel and Energy Complex

Raw materials base of ferrous metallurgy

Geography of ferrous metallurgy

Iron foundries and steelmaking operations

Geography of non-ferrous metallurgy

Integrated use of non-ferrous metal ore

Geography of the chemical industry

Study of problems of nature management: a look from space

Annex 1.5 Textbook 5 “Geography: economic and social geography of the world”

Author: Maksakovskiy, V.P. (2012)

Size of the book: 405 pages

The textbook deals with the following subjects:

General characteristics of the world

Part 1. The modern political map of the world

- We consider the diversity of the countries of the modern world
- We characterize the impact of international relations on the world map
- We get acquainted with the state system of the countries of the world
- We learn about political geography

Part 2. Geography of natural resources

- We study the interaction of society and nature
- We estimate the world's natural resources
- We consider pollution and environmental protection
- We learn about geographic resource knowledge and geo-ecology

Part 3. Geography of the World Population

- We are familiar with the number and reproduction rate of the population
- We learn about the composition (structure) of the population
- We characterize the location and migration of the population
- We are studying the urban and rural population

Part 4. The scientific and technological revolution and effects on the economy

- We characterize the scientific and technological revolution
- We are studying the world economy
- We consider the sectoral and territorial structure of the world economy
- We are familiar with the factors of location

Part 5. Geography of the sectors of the world economy

- We are studying the geography of industry
- We consider the geography of agriculture and fisheries
- We are engaged in the geography of transport
- We are familiar with world economic relations

Regional characteristics of the World

Part 6. Foreign Europe [meaning non-CIS Europe, JCB]

- We study common characteristics of foreign Europe
- We study the geographic pattern of settlement and economy
- We get acquainted with the sub-regions and countries of foreign Europe.

Part 7. Foreign Asia [meaning non-CIS Asia, JCB] and Australia

- We give a general description of foreign Asia
- We are studying China
- We know Japan
- We "open" ourselves to India
- We are getting acquainted with Australia

Part 8. Africa

- We give the general characteristics of Africa
- We compare the sub-regions of the North and Sub-Sahara Africa.

Part 9. North America

- We give a general characterization of the United States of America
- We are considering the economy and population of the United States of America

We are acquainted with Canada

Part 10. Latin America

We learn general characteristics of the Latin American continent

We are acquainted with Brazil

Global problems of mankind

Part 11. The Great Problems of Mankind (environment & development)

We describe the global problems of mankind

We know about global forecasts, hypotheses and projects.

We become acquainted with the strategy of sustainable development

We are aware of the world at the beginning of the 21st century

Supplementary literature for a more in-depth study of the course

Index of terms and abbreviations

Annex 2: Teacher presentations about Russia and Crimea 2014

In this annex, the links to the different presentations from teachers can be found, which were made to inform secondary school students about the enlargement of the Russian Federation in 2014. Until the date of this study, school methods have not been updated yet, so that teachers have to design their own materials in order to explain why the territory of Russia increased. This is by no means a complete overview of these special classes, but may give some evidence and insight in how this event is communicated with students.

Class hour presentation 1: Crimea the pearl of Russia (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1000920/>), uploaded by Irina Turmanidze

Class hour presentation 2: The entry of Crimea and Sevastopol into the Russian Federation (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1225840/>), uploaded by Polina Uspenskaya

Class hour presentation 3: We are together! Dedicated to the re-unification of Crimea with Russia (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1185781/>), by E. L. Romanenko

Class hour presentation 4: Crimea, we are together! (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1125269/>), uploaded by Sophia Bakhrameeva

Class hour presentation 5: History of Crimea within Russia and the nature of Crimea (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/912961/>), by T.V. Scheffer.

Class hour presentation 6: Crimea, the constitution. (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1320888/>), by Natalia Sakharova

Class hour presentation 7: We are together! About the re-entry of Crimea into Russia. (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1220162/>), by V. Yu. Gvozdник

Class hour presentation 8: Dedicated to the reunion of the Crimea with Russia. (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1295382/>), by O. P. Troyenko

Class hour presentation 9: In unity lies our strength. (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1280234/>), uploaded by Irina Bakhmetyeva

Class hour presentation 10: Crimea is ours! (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1131385/>), uploaded by Igor Glagolyev

Class hour presentation 11: Politinformatiya (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/822361/>), by N. I. Ivanova

Class hour presentation 12: Crimea to Russia. The withdrawal of Crimea from Ukraine and the subsequent accession to Russia (link: <http://www.myshared.ru/slide/1156221/>), uploaded by Marina Mikhalkova.